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ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA: SOME SUGGESTIONS ON THE MONUMENT SCENES

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The following consideration of the Monument scenes in *Antony and Cleopatra* is written from the producer's point of view, as he sits in the stalls watching and listening to the play as it is acted (in his imagination) on the stage before him. This point of view is different in many ways from that of the scholar and editor, who sit at their desks poring over the printed text of the play, as they make their emendations and additions. There have been many such made to the text of these scenes, from the time of the printing of the Second Folio to the present day, in an endeavour to explain the apparent contradictions and omissions in what Shakespeare wrote. None of them, however, offers a satisfactory explanation of how these scenes were originally acted or could be acted to-day. For the moment let us forget all past controversy and turn to the First Folio with free minds and unbiassed imagination to re-enact, if we can, what Shakespeare saw in his mind's eye as he wrote these scenes, and later produced and saw acted on the stage of the Globe Playhouse.

Anyone wishing to put *Antony and Cleopatra* on the stage to-day is faced, in Act IV. Sc. xv, not only with the obvious difficulty of how to get Antony heaved aloft, but also with how to interpret the repetitions, inconsistencies, and contradictions in the earlier part of the scene. For instance, Diomed's lines:

Looke out o'th other side your Monument,
His Guard have brought him thither.

are followed by '*Enter Anthony, and the Guard*'. Diomed's 'thither' suggests some distance off, whereas Antony at once appears here on the stage.

¹ I have to thank Dr. G. I. Duthie and Mr. C. M. Haines for their most helpful suggestions and discussions on this, my first, attempt at serious Shakespearean criticism.

Again, Cleopatra calls down from 'aloft':

Helpe *Charmian*, helpe *Irás* helpe: helpe Friends
Below, let's draw him hither.

Some sixteen lines later she repeats this in a slightly different form:

Helpe me my women, we must draw thee up:
Assist good Friends.

Antony's 'I am dying Egypt, dying' is repeated twenty-two lines later. In reply to his lines:

I heere importune death a-while, untill
Of many thousand kisses, the poore last
I lay upon thy lippes.

Cleopatra answers:

I dare not Deere,
Deere my Lord pardon: I dare not,
Least I be taken. . . .

This does not seem to fit. What is it that she dare not do? Surely not to receive Antony's last kiss? She has already said 'let's draw him hither', and at line thirty-eight she says:

Quicken with kissing: had my lippes that power,
Thus would I weare them out.

The reference to *Cæsar* and *Octavia*, in the 'I dare not' speech, seems out of place and callous, and as though she were thinking only of herself, although she is actually looking down on the bleeding and dying Antony below. Her next speech 'Heere's sport indeede . . .' seems overdone and boisterous. Much that is said, up to this point, is too intimate to be shouted from stage to balcony; and Antony, poor man, is kept waiting below much too long before he is drawn up. As he says himself, 'Oh quicke, or I am gone'.

Lastly, there is no 'exeunt' for *Diomed* and the Guard.

What is the explanation of this apparent confusion? Surely that there were two versions of the beginning of this scene, and that both versions (or parts of both) have got into the First Folio in a confused form.

Before attempting to disentangle the two versions let us see what Shakespeare had before him, in North's translation of Plutarch's *Life of Antony*, as he wrote the first version. The full account should be read, but these extracts may serve:

Cleopatra had sent *Diomed* 'who was commanded to bring Antony into the tomb where Cleopatra was . . . When he (Antony) heard that she was alive, he very earnestly prayed his men to carry his body thither, and so he was carried in his men's arms into the entry of the Monument. Notwithstanding, Cleopatra would not open the gates, but came to the high window and cast out

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certain chains and ropes, in the which Antonius was trussed: and Cleopatra her ownself, with two women only . . . trusted Antonius up. —So when she had gotten him in after that sort and layed him on a bed . . . she dried up his blood that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperor, forgetting her own misery and calamity for the pity and compassion she took for him'.

I suggest that in his first version Shakespeare followed North's account, placing Cleopatra and her maids 'in the Monument', i.e. on the inner stage. It is here that we should expect to find her, as Diomed had told Antony that she was 'Lockt in her Monument'. (In what follows the lines that fit only the second version, or probably belong there, are put in brackets.)

The six opening lines fit this inner stage setting, perhaps better than when spoken from above.

Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides (aloft), with Charmian & Iras

Cleo. Oh *Charmian*, I will never go from hence.

Char. Be comforted deere Madam.

Cleo. No, I will not:

All strange and terrible events are welcome,
But comforts we dispise; our size of sorrow
Proportion'd to our cause, must be as great
As that which makes it.

Enter Diomed

How now? is he dead?

Diom. His death's upon him, but not dead.

(Looke out o'th other side your Monument,
His Guard have brought him hither (thither).)

Enter Anthony, and the Guard

He would be carried close outside the gate, through which he and Cleopatra talk.

Cleo. (Oh Sunne,
Burne the great Sphere thou mov'st in, darkling stand
The varrying shore o'th' world.) O *Antony, Antony, Antony*
(Helpe *Charmian*, helpe *Iras* helpe: helpe Friends
Below, let's draw him hither.)

Ant. Peace,

Not *Cæsars* Valour hath o'rethrowne *Anthony*,
But *Anthony's* hath Triumpht on it selfe.

Cleo. So it should be,
That none but *Anthony* should conquer *Anthony*,
But woe 'tis so.

Ant. I am dying Egypt, dying; onely
I heere importune death a-while, untill
Of many thousand kisses, the poore last
I lay upon thy lippes.

With only the gate separating them, Antony's words suggest that Cleopatra

should open the gate, and it is to this implied request (a more definite one may have got lost) that she answers:

Cleo. I dare not Deere,
Deere my Lord pardon: I dare not,
Least I be taken: not th' Imperious shew
Of the full-Fortun'd *Cæsar*, ever shall
Be brooch'd with me, if Knife, Drugges, Serpents have
Edge, sting, or operation. I am safe:
Your Wife *Octavia*, with her modest eyes,
And still Conclusion, shall acquire no Honour
Demuring upon me: but come, come *Anthony*,
Helpe me my women, we must draw thee up:
Assist good Friends.

Cleopatra, being inside the gate, probably could not see Antony's piteous condition. Her reference to *Cæsar*, *Octavia* and her own safety is not so unnatural, and out of her part, as when spoken from the balcony. At the end she suddenly forgets herself to think of Antony and of how to get him into the monument. She hits on the solution: '... We must draw thee up,' said to Antony, and 'Assist good Friends', to the guard and Diomed who are all just outside. ('We must draw thee up' suggests that the way to do it has still to be found. Whereas 'Help Friends Below, let's draw him hither' shows Cleopatra and her maids aloft and all ready to start at once.) Here Cleopatra and her maids go aloft, as in North's account. As they go up:

Ant. Oh quicke, or I am gone.
Cleo. (Heere's sport indeede:
How heavy weighes my Lord?)

These lines of Cleopatra's require that Antony's weight be already off the stage, and he on his way aloft. But there has been no time for anyone to get aloft, throw down the ropes, get Antony 'trussed up' and hung on. The first version was discarded before 'Heere's sport indeede' was written.

Shakespeare had to write a second version, because by following North too closely, he ran up against the difficulty of having to heave Antony aloft in sight of the audience. Having brought Antony on to the stage he had to hoist him up from there. He found, exactly as we should find to-day, that it could not be done without delaying the action of the play, distracting the audience, and dropping the performance to a plane far below that at which tragedy must be kept. He therefore cut adrift from North and wrote the second version. But he could not go all the way by cutting out the hoisting up of Antony. North's translation had been published only some ten years before, so that this episode would be vividly in the minds of many in the audience. He would not admit defeat. Instead he found a way round the difficulty which did not spoil his play.

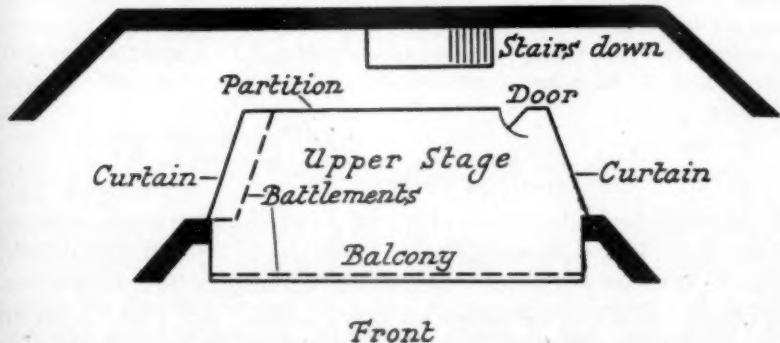
One of the things that should never be forgotten by anyone producing Shakespeare's plays to-day, is that Shakespeare himself had had to produce them, and had done so successfully. There must therefore be a solution to all our difficulties if only we can find it. Shakespeare wrote his plays to be acted, saw them acted and saw that they were good. The fundamentals of acting and production were the same for him as they are for us. There was nothing magic about the Elizabethan stage that enabled him to do things that cannot be done on the stages of to-day.

We cannot hope to re-construct the second version exactly as he meant it to go. The best that we can do is to retain as much as possible of what has come down to us in the First Folio, rejecting only what cannot be fitted into place, and so arranging it as to make an opening to this great scene of Antony's death that goes quickly and smoothly, and is consistent and actable. The following arrangement is put down to illustrate the possibilities of reconstruction and not with any claim that it is the correct or only way.¹

Act IV, Sc. xv

RECONSTRUCTED SECOND VERSION

Stage setting



The front of the balcony represents battlements above the Monument. The curtains behind the balcony are drawn back to show the upper stage behind. The latter is enclosed by hangings at the sides and a partition at the back with a door in it. Behind the back partition is a passage way with stairs leading down to a similar passage way behind the inner stage. Practicable battlements run back at one side of the upper stage.

Cleopatra with Charmian and Iras come near the front of the balcony; the other maids look out over the battlements at the back. All are watching for

¹ This plan of the balcony and upper stage used together, is based on the drawing on page 254 of *The Globe Playhouse*, by John C. Adams.

Diomed's return. Everything has been planned and is ready for rescuing Antony should Diomed bring him to the Monument.

Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides aloft, with Charmian & Iras

Cleo. Oh *Charmian*, I will never go from hence.

Char. Be comforted deere Madam.

Cleo. No I will not:

All strange and terrible events are welcome,
But comforts we despise; our size of sorrow
Proportion'd to our cause, must be as great
As that which makes it.

Enter Diomed.

How now? is he dead?

Diom. His death's upon him, but not dead.

Looke out o'th other side your Monument,
His Guard have brought him thither.

The last two lines are in the nature of a stage direction, which cancels the first version's '*Enter Anthony, and his Guard*'. The maids at the back have seen Antony below them and are quickly lowering a rope over the battlements.

Cleo. Oh Sunne,

Burne the great Sphere thou mov'st in, darkling stand
The varrying shore o'th' world.

This is her first reaction to hearing that Antony is dying. She looks up to the sky as she speaks them, before turning to go to the back. (Had Antony entered below she would have had to look down at him, and the appeal to the Sun would have been pointless.) She looks over at the back and sees Antony below.

. . . O *Antony, Antony, Antony*

Helpe *Charmian*, helpe *Iras* helpe: helpe Friends
Below, let's draw him hither.

They start to heave Antony aloft by the rope, which is seen by the audience crossing the back of the upper stage from the side battlements. All are pulling on the rope. Cleopatra, after appearing to see Antony coming up, leaves the battlements and catches hold of the rope to pull with the others. She has not seen Antony clearly yet; and the audience have not seen him at all, so that the following speech does not now seem callous. This is Shakespeare's substitute for the realistic hoisting of the first version. All delays, mechanical difficulties and devices have been swept out of the way. The audience is excited and impatient, and would never notice that in real life the hoisting could not possibly have been started so quickly. Antony actually lies out of sight on the upper stage behind the side battlements, so that stage hands can raise him at the right time.

Cleo. Heere's sport indeede:

How heavy weighes my Lord?

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Our strength is all gone into heaviness,
That makes the waight. Had I great *Iuno's* power,
The strong wing'd Mercury should fetch thee up,
And set thee by *Ioues* side.

Here they stop pulling in the rope as Antony is supposedly near the top. Some of the maids lean over and seem to lift him over the top of the battlements, while others and Cleopatra keep a strain on the rope. As the maids get Antony free from the rope and are ready to carry him, Cleopatra drops the rope and takes a hesitating step or two towards Antony. Her excitement is gone. She is awestruck by this dying, bleeding Antony. She calls very gently, in fear lest he be already dead, ' . . . Yet come a little'. As the folly of sending the false report of her death, in the hope of bringing Antony back to her, comes into her mind she turns away from him in an agony of self reproach, 'Wishers were ever Fooles'. She has her wish but at the cost of Antony's life. She moves across to the door, calling as she goes down the stairs, ' . . . Oh come, come, come'. The maids carry Antony across to the door. If the actor of Antony is a heavy man a dummy could be used up to this point. Cleopatra enters below, and gets the bed ready on the inner stage, and Antony (having walked down the stairs) is carried in and laid on the bed. Here some of the lines from the first version can be worked in. Antony is completely exhausted and lies with his eyes shut. He speaks half to himself:

Ant. Peace,
Not *Cæsars* Valour hath o'rethrowne *Anthony*,
But *Anthony's* hath Triumpht on it selfe.
Cleo. So it should be,
That none but *Anthony* should conquer *Anthony*,
But woe 'tis so.

He opens his eyes and sees her:

Ant. I am dying Egypt, dying; onely
I heere importune death a-while, untill
Of many thousand kisses, the poore last
I lay upon thy lippes.

(Cleopatra's 'I dare not Deere'—to the end is cut out, as it refers to the opening of the gate in the first version and has no place in the second.)

Antony's lines give Cleopatra her cue:

Cleo. And welcome, welcome. Dye when (where) thou hast liv'd,
Quickened with kissing: had my lippes that power,
Thus would I weare them out.
All. A heavy sight.

Ant.
Give me some Wine, and let me speake a little.

And so to the end of the scene, where the Folio's direction, *Exeunt, bearing of Anthony's body*, can be reinstated after its banishment for the past 180

years or so. That direction should in itself be sufficient evidence that Shakespeare meant Antony to be brought down to the inner stage. There is no 'Exeunt' for the Guard and Diomed, because the former have not appeared on the stage, and Diomed has gone off in response to Cleopatra's call for help. In this attempt to reconstruct the second version the only lines left out are Cleopatra's speech 'I dare not', and Antony's 'Oh quicke, or I am gone', and the repetitions. The Folio stage direction for Antony's entrance is cancelled because Diomed's two lines contradict it. On the other hand the final Folio direction is restored, in place of that in current use, *Exeunt, those above bearing off Antony's body*. Before passing on to consider the second Monument scene it should be noted that in Act V. Sc. i Shakespeare makes Cæsar tell Proculeius to go and talk to Cleopatra, and say to Gallus merely 'go you along', whereas North's account is that Cæsar

sent Gallus to speak once again with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talk, whilst Proculeius did set up a ladder against that high window, by the which Antonius was tristed up, and came down into the Monument with two of his men hard by the gate where Cleopatra stood to hear what Gallus said unto her.

Shakespeare's reversal of the rôles fits with what Antony has told Cleopatra—'None about Cæsar trust, but *Proculeius*'. Antony's judgment was at fault, for it is Proculeius who takes Cleopatra captive, thus recalling Enobarbus' words: 'Cæsar thou has subdu'de His judgment too'.

We can now turn to the second Monument scene, Act V. Sc. ii, which carries on to the end of the play. This is the longest and most important scene in the play, with Cæsar and his train coming and going, guards rushing in, and so on, all of which makes it clear that this scene must be acted on the main stage level with the inner stage as Cleopatra's Monument. That is where, in the reconstructed version above, she was last seen, and it is where the audience would expect to find her. There is nothing in the Folio directions to suggest that any part of this scene is acted aloft. The Folio stage directions are not very helpful. They start with: *Enter Cleopatra, Charmian, Iras, and Mardian*. Mardian never speaks, but Seleucus does although no entrance is marked for him; he merely appears in answer to Cleopatra's call.

The next direction, *Enter Proculeius*, shows that he came alone to talk to Cleopatra. There are no stage directions as to how entrance is gained to the Monument, so we have to assume that Proculeius has already sent off Gallus, with two soldiers, with instructions what to do. The Folio text does, however, give us some help:

Pro. This Ile report (deere Lady)
Have comfort, for I know your plight is pittied
Of him that caus'd it.

Then the prefix *Pro.* is repeated:

Pro. You see how easily she may be surpriz'd:

Guard her till *Cæsar* come.

Iras. Royall Queene.

Char. Oh *Cleopatra*, thou art taken Queene.

Cleo. Quicke, quicke, good hands.

The division of Proculeius's lines is made where the gate is opened. There is nothing to make us think that the second *Pro.* is a misprint. The last two lines are exactly what Proculeius would say after the gate was opened. He was the officer in command, and the only person qualified to give the order to guard Cleopatra. Proculeius is speaking to someone, presumably Gallus with his soldiers, who was not on the stage before. Not only is the stage direction for Gallus' entrance omitted, but something must have been spoken by Gallus (or by someone else) to account for the second *Pro.* A mere stage direction would not justify the second prefix. Here then is evidence of some speech, or speeches, omitted or cut out. Assuming there was an alteration, in Act IV. Sc. xv, to enable Antony to be hoisted aloft at the back of the Monument, instead of at the front in view of the audience, then there would have to be a corresponding alteration in this scene (Act V. Sc. ii) where Gallus and his soldiers have now to be got into the Monument at the back instead of at the front. North's account has already been quoted, and we are probably justified in assuming that Shakespeare followed North, but made Gallus go up the ladder while Proculeius kept Cleopatra in talk. Shakespeare would not miss the suggestion of the irony of Fate, in 'did set up a ladder against that high window, by which Antonius was tristed up'. Cleopatra's device, of hoisting Antony aloft so that she might not be taken by Cæsar if she opened the gate, is the very device used by Cæsar's soldiers for her capture now.

If we follow the Folio and North, and only add such directions and explanations as are needed to make clear what happens, this part of the scene would run something like this. Proculeius is speaking to Cleopatra:

Pro. This Ile report (deere Lady)

Have comfort, for I know your plight is pittied

Of him that caus'd it.

Here the gate of the Monument is opened from within by Gallus, with two soldiers, who, by a ladder, have climbed to that place to which Antony was hoisted up, and have followed the way he was brought down, to come behind Cleopatra to the gate.

Pro. (entering the Monument, to Gallus)

You see how easily she may be surpriz'd:

(to the soldiers)

Guard her till *Cæsar* come.

Exit Gallus.

Iras. Royall Queene. etc.

To ensure surprise the gate must be opened at once at the cue 'Of him that caus'd it'. There must be no pause here. Gallus and his men must have started to climb some time before to be at the gate at the right time. There is no entrance or exit for Gallus in the Folio, but he should have an exit hereabouts so that he can tell Cæsar what has happened, and justify Dolabella's statement that Cæsar knows. The above direction for taking the Monument would fit different ways of staging Act IV. Sc. xv.

If the setting for the second Monument scene is the same as for the reconstructed first scene (Act IV. Sc. xv), the first indication of Gallus' movements would be the appearance of the top end of a ladder projecting above the side battlements where Antony was brought up. Then Gallus and the two soldiers climb over the battlements and cross the back of the upper stage to the door, to go down the stairs out of sight, and re-appear entering the inner stage and so to the gate which they unbar and open. Such a staging of the entrance to the Monument avoids having to bring a ladder on to the stage, and all delay in opening the gate, and causes no more than a legitimate amount of distraction to the audience. The current emendation of making Gallus speak the lines assigned by the Folio to Proculeius probably arose from taking the repetition of the prefix *Pro.* to be a printer's error. 'You see how easily she may be surpriz'd' is spoken after, and not before, the gate is opened. It means 'You see how easily she has been surprised'. Gallus is subordinate and never speaks in the Folio. This emendation is clearly wrong, as is also the direction for Proculeius to ascend the Monument.

The opening of the gate calls for accuracy in movement and timing by the actors. Proculeius's three lines, starting 'This Ile report . . .', show that the interview is over, so Cleopatra turns and moves away from the gate. This leaves room for Gallus to reach the gate unseen. The gate should open inwards so that Proculeius moves nearer to Cleopatra as he enters to speak to Gallus. Cleopatra must not go too far from the gate as Proculeius has to be very quick to catch her wrist in time to stop her stabbing herself.

So far the two Monument scenes have been considered separately. The object has been to find a reasonable way of interpreting Shakespeare's lines and stage directions, and how that interpretation can be carried out in practice on the stage. But as a final test of any interpretation it is well to stand back and to look at the two scenes together and at their relation to the whole play.

There has been throughout a building up to the apex, the culmination of the play in the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. It is here that we find the greatest writing and creation by Shakespeare, and the greatest chance for the finest acting. For that reason alone, forgetting all stage directions and

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mechanical details, these scenes call for the best presentation that can be given them, and for the best place on the stage for all to see and hear them. That place is the main and inner stage. The two scenes are essentially the same place, Cleopatra's Monument, and are continuous, but for the short break of Cæsar's scene, which is required for Antony's burial and the passing of some undefined period of time. The opening line of the second scene calls aloud for this unity of place combined with the tragedy of the passing of time.

Cleo. My desolation does begin to make
A better life. . . .

The very place, the very bed now empty, where Antony died, should be the setting to that desolation. It is to be where Cleopatra dies and Cæsar comes to gaze on her, and bid his soldiers:

. . . Take up her bed,
And beare her Women from the Monument,
She shall be buried by her *Anthony*.
No Grave upon the earth shall clip in it
A payre so famous. . . .

To act the whole of the first scene aloft and the second below on the inner stage, is to lose this essential unity, atmosphere and background. A diptych, one half skyed, the other on the line, does not show to advantage.

Certainly anyone who reads the play, as it is printed to-day, must gain a very vague idea as to why Antony is heaved aloft. The reason is not made clear in the play and must therefore be looked for elsewhere. Shakespeare put this incident into his play because he found it in North, where he also found the reason for the hoisting. North speaks of the Monument also as a tomb. The Capulet's Monument was a tomb into which Romeo had to descend. North's Monument is on the ground level, the entrance closed by a strongly barred and locked gate, behind which Cleopatra takes refuge. When Antony arrives outside the gate she refuses to open it, but uses the device of hoisting him up to a high window, and so into the Monument. He has been got in by the back door, so to speak. There is no suggestion that he is kept at the high window. North does not in actual words say that Antony was taken down, but the subsequent account makes it clear that he was; for Proculeius came to the gate of the Monument 'as Antonius gave the last gasp', and from outside spoke to Cleopatra within. So Shakespeare, following North, would stage the hoisting aloft of Antony as being the historical way in which he was got into the Monument by the back way. That Monument would be on the ground level as in North, and the inner stage would be used for its presentation in both scenes. In the first version, as suggested above, Cleopatra was on the inner stage as 'Lockt in her Monument'. Had it been possible to carry out that version Antony would

naturally have been brought down from the balcony to the inner stage. The second version, in which Antony is hoisted up at the back of the Monument instead of at the front, in no way precludes the use of the inner stage as the inside of the Monument.

Turning now to what scholars and editors have said about these scenes, we find that not one has commented on Diomed's line about the other side of the Monument, or on the repetitions. The inconsequence of Cleopatra's speech 'I dare not—' has been found a difficulty. Emendations make Antony tell Cleopatra to 'come down'; or Cleopatra to say that she 'dare not descend', 'dare not ope the door' and so on.

Much has been written to explain the meaning of 'Heere's sport indeede'. Dr. Johnson wrote, 'I suppose the meaning of these strange words is, here's trifling, you do not work in earnest'. Other suggestions are, 'Here's port', 'He's spent', 'Here's support'. The discussion was mainly on the word sport. If, instead of debating on the single word, the speech is considered as a whole, the word sport fits in quite naturally. The audience is given the impression of excitement, of urgency and of the difficulty of heaving the heavy Antony aloft. With Antony out of sight all eyes and ears will be concentrated on Cleopatra and her maids hauling in the rope, and the audience will be convinced that he is being hoisted aloft. The speech may be likened to the patter talk of a conjurer that makes one see him do things he never really does.

It was Capell who first suggested that the scene of Antony's death was acted to the end on the upper stage. This he did by altering the Folio's stage direction from *Exeunt, bearing of Anthonies body* to *Exeunt; those above bearing off the Body*. Later editors followed Capell, with the exception of Dr. G. B. Harrison in his 'Penguin' edition, in which he reverts to the Folio direction.

In Act V. Sc. ii the Folio makes Proculeius enter alone. There were many emendations to this, of which Capell's is typical, namely:

Enter Proculeius and Gallus, with soldiers, to the door of the Monument, without.

This, in substance, is still in current use.

On how the Monument was entered the Folio says nothing. Theobald, Warburton, and Johnson have this interesting direction:

Here Gallus, and Guard, ascend the Monument by a ladder, and enter at a back-window.

They had noticed that Shakespeare had changed the rôles of Gallus and Proculeius from those in North. Had they in mind the other side of the Monument when they wrote back-window? Malone started the current version, following North without noticing Shakespeare's alteration:

Here Proculeius and two of the Guard ascend the monument by a ladder placed

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against a window, and, having descended, come behind Cleopatra. Some of the Guard unbar and open the gates.

This is how it appears in the Cambridge second edition, which gives Proculeius's last two lines to Gallus, with the above direction separating them.

The 'Penguin' edition discards all the above emendations and follows the Folio closely. All Proculeius's lines are restored to him, with the stage direction '*Enter soldiers*' before the last two. Thus we have come full circle, and are back to what the Folio gave us with the difficulties, raised in this article, still unexplained.

Granville-Barker, in his *Prefaces to Shakespeare*,¹ deals at some length with the staging of the Monument scenes. Unfortunately he passes over Diomed's lines unnoticed, to consider the difficulty of hoisting Antony over the balustrade to the upper stage. He feels that the scene of Antony's death and Cleopatra's lament over him 'played behind the balustrade as behind bars' would have been a poor one.

John Cranford Adams, in his recently published book, *The Globe Playhouse*, is apparently the first to give serious consideration to Diomed's lines and to propose a staging of this scene that does not clash with them. He says on p. 346:

Cleopatra, terrified by the turn of events, has secured herself and retinue in her stronghold, the Monument:

'Enter Cleopatra, and her Maides aloft, with Charmian & Iras'.

They appear in a window-stage awaiting the return of Diomedes, who (at line 6) enters on the platform (the main stage) through the door below them:

Cleo. How now? is he dead?

Diom. His death's upon him, but not dead.

Looke out o'th other side your Monument,
His Guard have brought him thither.

Cleopatra and her women immediately leave the window on that side of the tiring-house and cross to the window-stage on 'the other side'. Diomedes leaves the platform . . . through the door by which he entered. As soon as the stage is clear,

'Enter Anthony, and the Guard'.

Anthony is carried in through the door on the opposite side and deposited on the ground (or perhaps supported on his shield) below the window in which Cleopatra and her women appear for the second part of the scene.

Cleo. (looking down from the window) Oh Sunne—

From a footnote on p. 347 it is clear that Mr. Adams thinks that Antony, lying upon his shield, should be heaved aloft and then 'drawn feet first through the window to the point where his head and shoulders come within reach of Cleopatra's embrace', and that so placed 'the audience's

¹ Second Series, p. 162.

view of Antony's death and of Cleopatra's lament over him would have been unexcelled'.

This is a valiant attempt to stage the other side of the Monument. The objections to it are (a) the time taken for Cleopatra to cross, in silence, from one window to the other, (b) the break in the continuity and swift action of the scene, and (c) that nothing is gained, and much is lost, compared to keeping Cleopatra at one window and bringing Antony on from the opposite side. Shakespeare did not write Diomed's lines merely to show how he could use the three stages aloft. Mr. Adams does not say what happens when Antony, precariously balanced on the window-sill, dies, and Cleopatra swoons.

It may be argued that the manuscript of this play could not have been left with two versions in it to confuse the Folio editors and printers. It is impossible to say how such a condition actually arose; but it should not be beyond the ability of textual experts to find ways in which it might have happened.

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THE RELIGIOUS CONVERSION OF HENRY VAUGHAN

By E. L. MARILLA

The religious conversion of Henry Vaughan has long been a subject of critical interest, but no one has yet carefully examined this biographical problem. Inquiry on the subject usually begins and ends with incautious inference from confusing bibliographical details. These may be briefly reviewed.

On 17 December 1647 Vaughan wrote a dedication for some work (described in the dedication merely as 'these papers') which he did not at once publish. In 1651 his *Olor Iscanus* (composed of twenty-two original secular poems and twenty-five translations) appeared, the title-page bearing the imprint 'Published by a Friend'. The volume contains the ambiguous dedication of 1647, but 'The Publisher to the Reader' informs us (not altogether accurately): 'The Author had long agoe condemn'd these Poems to Obscuritie . . . I present thee then not onely with a Book, but with a Prey . . . I have not the Author's Approbation to the Fact . . .'. In the meantime, Vaughan himself had published *Silex Scintillans* (1650), consisting entirely of religious verse; and five years later he published an augmented re-issue of this volume, including a preface (30 September 1654) in which he denounces those who continue 'after years of discretion' to write 'vicious verse' and 'idle books', and repents that he has not always been an influence against this evil.

These facts are the basis of the theory that at some time between 1647 and 1650 Vaughan experienced a religious conversion, renounced his secular poems, and resolved to devote his poetic talents thereafter exclusively to spiritual themes.¹

¹ This theory begins with Vaughan's first modern editor, the Rev. H. F. Lyte (*Silex Scintillans*, 1847, pp. xxx-xxxii), and has gained wide acceptance in subsequent criticism. See, for instance, J. C. Sharp, 'Henry Vaughan, Silurist', *The North American Review*, CXXXVIII (1884), 125; Anonymous, 'Henry Vaughan', *Littell's Living Age*, CLXXXVIII (1891), 237; H. C. Beeching, *Poems of Henry Vaughan*, ed. E. K. Chambers (London, 1896), I, pp. xxiv-xxvi; J. Vaughan, 'Henry Vaughan, Silurist', *The Nineteenth Century*, LXVII (1910), 495-6; Anonymous, 'Henry Vaughan', *The Spectator*, CXV (1915), 543; Percy H. Osmond, *The Mystical Poets of the English Church* (London, 1919), p. 142; P. E. More, *The Demon of the Absolute* (Princeton, 1928), pp. 151-5; Elizabeth Holmes, *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy* (Oxford, 1932), pp. 12-18; Gwenllian E. F. Morgan, 'Henry Vaughan, Silurist', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 3 November 1932, p. 815; Anonymous, 'Henry Vaughan', *The Times Literary Supplement*, 13 October 1932, p. 724; F. E. Hutchinson (a review), *The Review of English Studies*, X (1934), 232; J. B. Leishman, *The Metaphysical Poets* (Oxford, 1934), pp. 148-51; Ralph M. Wardle, 'Thomas Vaughan's Influence upon the Poetry of Henry Vaughan', *P.M.L.A.*, LI (1936), 938; Helen C. White, *The Metaphysical Poets* (New York, 1936), pp. 264-73. Apparently no one has recognized that this interpretation of the problem has a counterpart

The purpose of the present study is two-fold: first, to show that accessible evidence disproves the theory of a complete conversion before 1650 and reveals that Vaughan's spiritual experience represents a gradual deepening of religious sentiment which continued after 1650, reaching fulfilment probably about 1654; second, to consider a later significant change in Vaughan's attitude that has been neglected in criticism.

The fact that *Olor Iscanus* contains poems obviously written throughout 1647-50,¹ when the first *Silex Scintillans* was also being composed, makes untenable a previous assumption that Vaughan's turning from secular to exclusively religious themes was a result of a complete conversion before 1650. The inclusion of these later poems in *Olor Iscanus* also discredits the further inference that the notice, 'The Publisher to the Reader', records a consequent and immediate decision of the poet to suppress the secular work of his 'unregenerate' years. Recognition of these errors in the theory being discussed leads us to consider the related assumption that Vaughan's attitude in *Silex Scintillans* of 1650 is fundamentally different from that of the secular verse of former years. Examination of the writings does not support this notion. The preface of the *Poems* (1646) is certainly no expression of lightheartedness; and the dominant tone throughout the original verse (as well as that of the work which the poet chose to translate and include) is one of reflection and contemplation. *Olor Iscanus* manifests maturing interests and philosophic habits of mind. Throughout this work are passages revealing strong moral convictions and deep concern about the current political and ecclesiastical turmoil. The attentive reader of the whimsical verses inspired by the war will distinguish between the truly facetious and those that echo Democritean mirth. In most instances, the poet's reflections on contemporary conditions bear a tone of dejection and disclose a tendency to escape disheartening reality through meditation. Contempt for the Puritans is quite recognizable in *Olor Iscanus*, and it is no less relevant that in poems excluded from this volume and published much later in *Thalia Rediviva* (1678)² Vaughan even more clearly identifies himself as a Royalist and Anglican and reveals that he viewed with real apprehension the progress of the Parliamentarians. Actually, the mood of the 1650 *Silex Scintillans*, far from representing a distinct departure from the poet's previous manner of thinking, appears as a logical sequence of his increasing seriousness as revealed in the secular verse.

It now becomes apparent that 'The Authors Preface' of 1654 in the

in the investigations of one of Vaughan's most important editors, the Rev. A. B. Grosart (*Works of Vaughan*, 'The Fuller Worthies' Library, 1871, II, pp. xxv-xxviii, xli-xlii), whose conclusion is that the conversion was a development of the 1650's.

¹ See William R. Parker, 'Henry Vaughan and his Publishers', *The Library*, Fourth Series, XX (1940), 408, and Harold R. Walley, 'The Strange Case of *Olor Iscanus*', *The Review of English Studies*, XVIII (1942), 30-1.

² See Parker, *Library*, pp. 407-10.

second *Silex Scintillans* is not to be interpreted as an expression of Vaughan's views in 1650. The Preface is both a denunciation of current abuse of literary ambition and artistic talent and a pronouncement that obedience to 'Gods sacred exhortations' requires that able writers devote themselves wholly 'to pious *Themes* and *Contemplations*'. Vaughan has much to say here about degenerate authors whose 'willingly-studied and wilfully-published vanities' are mere manifestations of 'sensual volutation or wallowing in *impure thoughts* and *scurrilous conceits*' for public notice. But his arraignment of these only sharpens his censure of capable writers who inadvertently encourage the evil by their preoccupation with 'lean *conceptions*, which in the most inclinable *Reader* will scarce give any nourishment or help to *devotion*'. 'The true remedy', we are told, 'lies wholly in their bosoms, who are the gifted persons, by a wise exchange of *vain and vitious subjects*, for *divine Themes* and *Celestial praise*'. Plainly, in Vaughan's opinion in 1654 those who did not devote their poetic powers exclusively to spiritual themes were wilfully encouraging the 'evil disease' which he here assails. It is relevant that in the same document he contritely acknowledges that he himself was once one of these offenders:

And here, because I would prevent a just *censure* by my free *confession*, I must remember, that I my self have for many years together, languished of this very *sickness*; and it is no long time since I have recovered. But (blessed be God for it!) I have by his saving assistance suppress my *greatest follies*,¹ and those which escaped from me, are (I think) as innoxious, as most of that *vein* use to be; besides, they are interlined with many virtuous, and some pious mixtures. What I speak of them, is truth; but let no man mistake it for an *extenuation* of faults, as if I intended an *Apology* for *them*, or my *self*, who am conscious of so much *guilt* in *both*, as can never be expiated without *special sorrows*, and that cleansing and pretious *effusion* of my Almighty Redeemer. . . .²

Since Vaughan is known to have continued throughout 1647-50 the 'wrong-doing' for which he here repents, we are forced to conclude that the Preface of 1654 represents an advance in his spiritual development definitely beyond that which produced the *Silex Scintillans* of 1650.

Criticism has too much neglected *The Mount of Olives* and *Flores Solitudinis* (registered on 16 December 1651 and 15 September 1653, respectively) as sources of commentary on Vaughan's thinking during 1650-4. The works in these volumes evince engrossing interest of the author in 'divine themes'³ but even more explicit evidence of increasing

¹ See Parker, *Library*, p. 411.

² *Works of Vaughan*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford, 1914), ii, 390.

³ *The Mount of Olives* consists of a treatise on 'Man in Darkness, Or, A Discourse of Death', twenty-four devotional exercises suitable 'for most times and occasions' in the life of the 'Christian Reader', and a translation of 'Man in Glory: Or, A Discourse of the blessed state of the Saints in the New Jerusalem' ('Written . . . by the most Reverend and holy Father Anselmus Archbishop of Canterbury'). *Flores Solitudinis* is composed of

religious sentiment is found in the prefaces. Whereas the *Silex* of 1650 contains no prefatory remarks, in the dedication (1 October 1651) of *The Mount of Olives* Vaughan appeals 'To the Truly Noble and Religious S^r. Charles Egerton' for support in this attempt to exalt the Christian life in the current '*bad times*' when 'It must be counted for a great *blessing*, that there is yet any left which dares *look* upon, and *commiserate* distressed Religion'. An additional preface in this work points again to the ungodliness of the times and urges the '*Christian Reader*' to pursue his way with patience, and for comfort and courage to '*Look not upon transitorie, visible things, but upon him that is eternal, and invisible*'. The note 'To the Reader' (17 April 1652) of *Flores*, reflecting increasing intensity, declares that through great suffering the poet has attained the revelation that in his previous concern about the trials of life (a prominent theme in *Olor Iscanus*) he was '*Quarrelling with [God's] light*' and exhibiting '*the foolish testinesse of man arising out of his misconstruction and ignorance of the wise method of Providence*'. It is proof of that 'wise method', we are informed, that his error brought '*those sad Conflicts*' which impelled him to seek retirement where he found the peace that comes of spiritual illumination. In true evangelistic fashion he exhorts the Reader to seek like peace in similar channels, and commends, with significant discrimination and persuasion, his '*little booke*' of precepts (whose title '*was found in the woods and the wilderness*')

It may be thy spirit is such a popular, phantastick flye, as loves to gad in the shine of this world; if so, this light I live by in the shade, is too great for thee. I send it abroad to bee a companion of those wise Hermits, who have withdrawne from the present generation, to confirme them in their solitude, and to make that rigid necessity their pleasant Choyse. To leave the world, when it leaves us, is both sordid and sorrowfull; and to quitt our station upon discontents, is nothing else, but to be the Apes of those Melancholy Schismaticks . . . They are Spirits of a very poore, inferiour order, that have so much Sympathy with worldlie things, as to weepe at Parting.¹

In a further dedicatory note 'To the Truly Noble And Religious Sir Charles Egerton' (1653), a year later, Vaughan writes with even more fervour, and the vehemence of his judgment upon the vanity of worldly interests represents a close approach to the militant attitude in the Preface of the following year. In this dedication he declares:

Nothing can give that, which it hath not, this transitory changeable and corrupt world cannot afford permanent treasures. All it gives, and all it shewes us, is but trash & illusion. The true incorruptible riches dwell above the reach of rust and thieves. . . .

'Primitive Holiness, Set forth in the Life of blessed Paulinus, The most Reverend . . . Bishop of Nola' and translations of 'Of Temperance and Patience', 'Of Life and Death' (both 'Written . . . by Johan: Euseb: Nierembergius'), and 'The World Contemned' ('. . . written by the Reverend Father Eucherius, Bishop of Lyons').

¹ *Works*, ed. Martin, i, 216.

All the gay appearances in this life seeme to me but a swift succession of rising Clouds, which neither abide in any certaine forme, nor continue for any long time; And this is that, which makes the sore travell of the sonnes of men to be nothing else but a meere chasing of shadowes. All is vanity (said the Royall Philosopher,) and there is no new thing under the Sun.

I present you therefore with a discourse perswading to a contempt & a desertion of these old things which (our Saviour tells us) shall passe away.¹

From these records it is clear that Vaughan's attitude in 1654 was the result of a steady intensification of his religious experience after 1650.

Under close examination, then, the theory of a complete conversion before 1650 becomes a misinterpretation of the evidence. *Silex Scintillans* (1650) represents, not a fundamental change in Vaughan's attitude toward life, but rather a logical stage in a development begun in the earlier secular verse. Furthermore, bibliographical evidence forbids interpretation of 'The Publisher to the Reader' of *Olor Iscanus* as testimony that Vaughan had decided *out of piety* to suppress his secular poems. And, finally, that *Olor Iscanus* contains poems written after 1647 and as late as 1650 invalidates previous acceptance of the Preface of 1654 as a statement of the poet's views during the late 1640's. Careful consideration of the facts reviewed here reveals that Vaughan's conversion was a gradual development beginning as early as the middle 1640's and continuing as late as 1654, and discloses also that it was after 1650, not before, that his experience became most dynamic.

When we recognize the true nature of Vaughan's religious experience, we can see more clearly its relationship to biographical facts which have been used to account for its origin.² It may be that the loss of friends and relatives was a factor in the poet's spiritual growth, but it is unnecessary to regard losses of this kind after 1650 as less relevant than those during the 1640's.³ If we consider Vaughan's interest in the *Hermetica* also a force in his conversion, it remains relevant that Hermetic influence is present not only in *Silex Scintillans* of 1650 but also in *Olor Iscanus* and is prominent in the *Silex* of 1655, in which year, let us observe, Vaughan published his translation of Henry Nollius's *Hermetical Physick*. My interpretation admits Vaughan's acknowledgment in the 1650 *Silex Scintillans* of Herbert's influence and also his reference to himself as Herbert's convert

¹ *Works*, ed. Martin, i, 214-15.

² Previous interpretation (see p. 15, n., above) assigns the following as principal influences: loss of friends in the Civil War; the untimely death both of a younger brother and of his first wife; the general confusion of the war; the inspiration of *The Temple* of George Herbert; association with his brother Thomas and their common interest in the Hermetic philosophy; a severe and protracted illness.

³ No poem in *Olor Iscanus* lamenting the death of acquaintances is more expressive of grief than are the verses in *Thalia Rediviva* occasioned by Charles Walbeoff's death in 1653. Nor are the poems in *Silex Scintillans* (1650) that are said to have been written on the loss of his brother William more burdened with bereavement than are those in the *Silex* of 1655 that were no less certainly inspired by the recent death of his wife.

in the Preface of 1654. Moreover, it is consistent with my thesis that whereas none of Vaughan's expressions prior to 1652 (including the note to the Reader of *The Mount of Olives* and its dedication of 1 October 1651) contains mention of ill-health, the prefatory addresses (as well as the title-page) of *Flores Solitudinis* and the Preface of the 1655 *Silex* record an increasingly severe illness during 1653-4 and clearly testify to its influence on the poet's thinking during these years.

It is evident, however, that the Civil War and its political consequences, hitherto regarded only as an influence in Vaughan's attitude before 1650, represent the principal force in his spiritual development during the period of 1647-54. Scholars who have acknowledged that Vaughan, an ardent Royalist, was deeply concerned about the national turmoil of the 1640's have failed to make the logical inference that his anxiety would increase as he witnessed the last stages of the war. The conclusion is supported by evidence of Vaughan's persistent allegiance to the Royalist cause. It is practically confirmed by the Latin poem '*Ad Posteror*', prefixed to *Olor Iscanus*, which records in studied enigma the poet's distress about the recent Parliamentary victory and the execution of King Charles I in 1649.¹ No less reasonable is the inference that his anxiety would settle into despair as he realized the full significance of the Parliamentary triumph. It is only by ignoring the relevance of historic fact or by denying Vaughan's sensibility, which his expressions during the 1650's attest, that we can deny that for him the early years of the republican regime were a period of crisis. In logic we must recognize that the cumulative effect of the Royalist catastrophe in 1649 helped to intensify Vaughan's religious feeling, which culminated in complete renunciation of secular interests and found austere expression in the Preface of 1654—written, let us note, exactly ten days after Parliament made Cromwell 'Protector for life'.

That Vaughan's devout mood of the 1650's later underwent a permanent modification has not been sufficiently recognized. His letters to John Aubrey during the 1670's,² his first direct expressions after 1655 of which we have record, reveal that he had long before broken his retirement and taken a new view on life. In the initial letter of 15 June 1673 Vaughan states that 'My profession allso is physic, w^{ch} I have practised now for many years with good successe (I thank god!) & a repute big enough for a person of greater parts than my selfe'. This statement clearly shows an interest in life, as does his correspondence with Aubrey about the inclusion of himself and his brother Thomas in Anthony à Wood's *Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis* (1674). And apparently Henry felt no restraint in acknowledging (9 December 1675) his pleasure in the fact

¹ See the translation and interpretation of the poem in my 'Henry Vaughan and the Civil War', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XLI (1942), 514-26.

² *Works*, ed. Martin, ii 667, ff.

'That my dear brothers name (& mine) are revived, & shine in the Historie of the Universitie. . . .' Obviously, he had regained respect for values which he had repudiated during the 1650's. Among the biographical details that he considered worth publishing in Wood's *Historia* was his residence in London as a young law student, an experience reflected in some early verses which, though quite inoffensive, Vaughan would not have regarded in 1654 as his most 'innocuous'. Even more revealing is his bibliography included in the letter of 15 June 1673. Although for some reason the *Poems* are omitted, Vaughan lists, not only *Silex Scintillans*, but also *Olor Iscanus*, and he adds *Thalia Rediviva* (then unpublished), which contains secular poems written as early as 1647,¹ including love verses neither more nor less reprehensible than those in the *Poems* of 1646. Vaughan's attitude in 1673 is distinctly less ascetic than his attitude of 1654. And that his renewed interest in life continued throughout his remaining twenty-two years is attested by his correspondence with Aubrey and Wood, which records not only vigorous professional activity but also lively interest in current affairs and in various literary pursuits up to some six months before his death in 1695.

The chief explanation for the change in Vaughan's views between 1654 and 1673 almost certainly resides, as in the case of his earlier conversion, in the political developments of the time. The Commonwealth, let us recall, came to an end five years after the publication of the second *Silex Scintillans*. The Restoration was a happy event for Royalists. And when we consider that Vaughan was then less than forty years old, it becomes almost inconceivable that he should fail to respond to new conditions affording, among other benefits, a liberation of spirit that challenged retirement. His medical career, which in 1673 had extended for 'many years', shows his adjustment to these better times, which was as natural as his previous reaction to political ostracism.

The account of Vaughan's religious conversion becomes, then, a simple and understandable story. During and immediately after his residence in London, the young law student indulged his poetic impulses in imitative experiments with various literary forms and themes. Results of these first attempts he later saw fit to publish, along with a Latin translation, as the *Poems* in 1646. In the meantime, the frustration of his study of law proving an incentive to literary effort, he continued to write with growing earnestness. Although his interest in conventional themes continued, as the true import of the war became manifest Vaughan, disturbed by the social and political confusion, was impelled to turn his poetic attention also to themes relating to the conflict and frequently to infuse into other expressions his concern about the moral issues of the strife. In 1647 such writings—

¹ See Parker, *Library*, pp. 408-10.

probably along with some translations—had accumulated considerably, and on 17 December he wrote a dedication with a view to publishing the work when sufficiently augmented. Having been attracted to the sacred writing of George Herbert, however, Vaughan was already experimenting with religious themes, and he now began to find relief for his increasing perturbation not only in secular compositions which more overtly attacked the prospering Parliamentarians (and were therefore unpublishable) but also in pious verses reflecting the manner and mood of *The Temple*. His dejection deepening as the signs of a Royalist defeat increased, he turned more and more to Herbert as a source of inspiration and guidance and eventually came to devote his literary talent chiefly to pious compositions. The final overthrow of the monarchy and the execution of the King supplied the impulse in 1650 to bring forth the sacred verse as appropriate testimony to the efficacy of Christian faith during the current triumph of evil.

Although Vaughan could publish *Silex Scintillans* with impunity, his unpublished secular writing remained a problem. It contained war poems which he could no longer consider publishing and also love verse that might perturb sympathetic readers of his later religious poetry. He decided that he could do no better than to place the secular compositions in the competent editorial hands of his friend Thomas Powell and let him determine the solution of the problem. This 'understanding editor' performed his task well, carefully selecting for *Olor Iscanus* that part of the work which would be most acceptable to the public and reasonably safe for the author and adding, for his special protection against potential enemies among Parliamentarian sympathizers, an ingenious preface which deceived no less his commentators for nearly a century.

Vaughan's religious fervour was accentuated by ill-health and other trying circumstances after 1650. He found comfort in the lives and writings of saintly characters of the past and was inspired to make these sources of reassurance available for others who shared his anxiety and his need of spiritual consolation. For his method of escape from recognition of defeat as outlined in *The Mount of Olives*, *Flores Solitudinis*, and *Silex Scintillans* of 1655 Vaughan had many precedents.

Subsequent recovery from illness and earnest pursuit of his medical interests (originally a part of his piety and recorded in his translation of the *Hermetical Physick*) signalized adjustment to existing conditions and the passing of the poetic mood. A little later the Restoration brought new opportunities, and continuous professional success and prosperity thereafter dispelled the attitude induced by a long series of frustrations, and engendered in the poet the equanimity reflected in his letters to Aubrey and Wood during his last twenty-two years.

SOME SIDELIGHTS ON THE REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE OF DRYDEN'S 'FABLES'

By HERBERT G. WRIGHT

When the first edition of Dryden's *Fables* appeared in 1700, only a few weeks before his death, the aged poet can hardly have dreamed how numerous its successors were to be. In London editions were published in 1713, 1721, 1734, 1745, 1755, 1773, and 1774, and in 1797 there was an edition with engravings by F. Bartolozzi from the pencil of Lady Diana Beauclerc. In 1750, 1752, and 1771 there were also editions printed at Glasgow. It must likewise be borne in mind that at an early date it was felt desirable to detach some of the tales from the rest. Hence, the fables from Chaucer were published in London in 1737 and 1741, and at Dublin in 1742, while those derived from Chaucer and Boccaccio appeared with the London imprint twice in 1806 (edited separately by Thomas Park and John Aikin) and again in 1822.

Four years after the *Fables* were first presented to the public, another sign of the interest that they created may be found in Thomas D'Urfey's *Tales Tragical and Comical*. He recognizes his indebtedness to the dead poet, endeavouring 'to follow him at an awful Distance, . . . keeping just in Sight of so Renown'd and Incomparable an Author'. Dryden was for D'Urfey the 'great Master'. A similar respect is implicit in Pope's *Essay on Criticism*, when he speaks of the learned blockhead who attacks all he reads, 'From Dryden's Fables down to Dufey's Tales'. Approbation is also clearly intended in a paper on fables in *The Spectator*,¹ where 'The Cock and the Fox' is drawn on for an apt quotation. But a more detailed appreciation than any of those so far mentioned is to be found in Jabez Hughes's poem 'Upon Reading Mr. Dryden's Fables'.² He was in no doubt about the boon that Dryden had conferred on readers of his day by presenting Chaucer to them in a form that they could understand.³ Hughes does

¹ 17 November 1714.

² *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose*, London, 1737, pp. 100-1.

³ Revolving Time had injur'd Chaucer's Name,
And dimm'd the brilliant Lustre of his Fame;
Deform'd his Language, and his Wit depress'd,
His serious Sense oft sinking to a Jest;
Almost a Stranger ev'n to British Eyes,
We scarcely knew him in the rude Disguise:
But cloath'd by Thee, the burnish'd Bard appears
In all his Glory, and new Honours wears.
Thus Ennius was by Virgil chang'd of old;
He found him Rubbish, and he left him Gold.

not attempt to discuss whether Dryden performed a similar service for Chaucer's contemporary Boccaccio; he contents himself with a eulogy of two of the tales from the *Decameron*—'Sigismunda and Guiscardo' and 'Cymon and Iphigenia'.¹ In 1739 George Ogle published his *Gualtherus and Griselda*, a modernization of Chaucer's 'Clerk's Tale'. He explains that having before his eyes 'The Character of a Good Parson' ('so well reviv'd') and the story of 'Palamon and Arcite' ('so happily moderniz'd'), he resolved to imitate 'the great Mr. Dryden'. The veneration expressed by Ogle sprang from no ulterior motives, but Charles Churchill's panegyric on 'Sigismunda and Guiscardo' was partly designed as a means to attack a contemporary. His 'Epistle to William Hogarth'² satirizes the artist's vanity and jealousy, and disparages his painting of Sigismunda weeping over the heart of her lover in comparison with Dryden's superb treatment of the theme in verse.³

In striking contrast to the general admiration for Dryden's *Fables* is Johnson's treatment of the work in his life of the poet. It is evident that the 'renovation of ancient authors' was not to his liking. Of the passages from Chaucer he considers that only two deserve mention. 'The Cock and the Fox' is dismissed as 'hardly worth revival', and as for 'Palamon and Arcite', the action is 'unsuitable to the times in which it is placed', and Dryden's 'hyperbolical commendation' is severely censured. Surprisingly

¹ How nobly great do's *Sigismunda* shine,
With constant Faith, and Courage Masculine!
No Menaces cou'd bend her Mind to fear,
But for her Love she dies without a Tear.
There *Iphigenia*, with her radiant Eyes,
As the bright Sun illuminates the Skies,
In clouded *Cymon* chearful Day began,
Awak'd the sleeping Soul, and charm'd him into Man.
The pleasing Legends, to your Honour, prove
The Pow'r of Beauty, and the Force of Love.

² *Poems*, London, 1763.

³ Poor *Sigismunda*! what a Fate is thine!
Dryden, the great High-Priest of all the Nine,
Reviv'd thy name, gave what a Muse could give,
And in his Numbers bad thy Mem'ry live;
Gave thee those soft sensations, which might move
And warm the coldest Anchorite to Love;
Gave thee that Virtue, which could curb desire,
Refine and Consecrate Love's headstrong fire;
Gave thee those griefs, which made the Stoic feel
And call'd compassion forth from hearts of steel;
Gave thee that firmness, which our Sex may shame,
And make Man bow to Woman's juster claim,
So that our tears, which from Compassion flow,
Seem to debase thy dignity of woe.
But O, how much unlike! how fall'n! how chang'd!
How much from Nature, and herself estrang'd!
How totally depriv'd of all the pow'rs
To shew her feelings, and awaken ours,
Doth *Sigismunda* now devoted stand,
The helpless victim of a Dauber's Hand!

enough, the three tales from Boccaccio are dealt with less rigorously. Yet even here, Johnson is cool in his appreciation. As a scholar he tolerates 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo' for the celebrity of the story, and 'Cymon and Iphigenia' for the repute which it enjoyed during the Renaissance, but no word of praise falls from his lips. In discussing 'Theodore and Honoria' he concedes that it affords opportunities of striking description but qualifies this slight approval with the complaint that 'it contains not much moral'. The comment is significant. Zealous as he was in the pursuit of truth and actuated by a love of moral values, Johnson could not be expected to find much satisfaction in the *Fables*.

A critical survey of greater amplitude was made by Dr. John Aikin in his edition of the *Fables from Boccaccio and Chaucer* in 1806. In these tales he sees Dryden at his ease, freed from the cramping bonds of politics and polemics, and writing not only with the mastery of experience but also with unabated vigour. Turning to the individual poems, he maintains that Dryden greatly improved Chaucer's 'Knight's Tale', for even if he only beautified and polished an existing design, he displayed great art in doing it, frequently transforming a bare hint into a weighty and dignified sentence. Aikin's enthusiasm is also aroused by the numerous happy descriptive touches which Dryden has added.

One has the impression, however, that Aikin was not particularly drawn to the tales from Chaucer. Certainly he surveys at greater length those derived from Boccaccio. He commends Dryden's attempt to lend decorum to the relations of Sigismonda and Guiscardo by making a secret marriage precede the accomplishment of their desires, but 'he has added so much warmth of colouring to the description, that decency cannot upon the whole be reckoned a gainer'. And as for Sigismonda's speech to her father after her detection, it 'almost incurs the charge of impudence, from the broad and undisguised confession of feelings which none but the loosest of the sex would avow'. The truth was, so Aikin held, that Dryden had no idea of female delicacy.

He also finds fault with one or two lines or phrases. Thus he objects to the extravagance of Sigismonda's words to her lover's heart in the vase, 'My tears shall set thee first afloat within thy tomb', and the physician in him revolts against Dryden's description of the heroine 'discharging her head' by the flow of tears, since the image appeared to him medical rather than poetical. On the other hand, he praises the beauty of the verse, and the force, dignity and clarity of the language.

Still more, however, did the tale of 'Theodore and Honoria' appeal to Aikin, who was characteristic of his age in savouring its 'romantic wildness' and 'emotion of terror'. He approves of Dryden's skill in heightening the effect of the original:

The manner in which he prepares the reader for the first appearance of the horrid phantom cannot be too much admired. . . . The singular happiness of the versification in the lines descriptive of the sudden calm and pause in nature, previous to the whirlwind which ushered in the apparition, has attracted the notice of various critics, and must be felt by every ear sensible to the harmony of poetry. The figures of the flying maid, the hell-hounds, and the infernal huntsman, are drawn with wonderful force.

In detail, too, Aikin found much to eulogize, and altogether the poem seemed to him remarkable. Consequently he could not help regretting that the effect was nullified by a coarse conclusion which betrayed the same lack of delicacy as he had discovered in 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo'.

All the more readily therefore does he recognize as just and noble the commendation of virtuous love in the prelude to 'Cymon and Iphigenia'. But he is obliged to point out later that Dryden has not improved the story by representing the heroine as a willing prey to her ravishers, of which Boccaccio gives no inkling. Aikin rejects the implication that all is lawful to lovers and refuses to condone Dryden's 'habitual coarseness of sentiment, with respect to feminine attachments'. He also asserts that the poet has unduly exaggerated the stupidity of Cymon by the accumulation of epithets such as 'the man-beast', 'the fool of nature', and 'the slaving cudden'. But he discovers many original features in the tale and fittingly praises the picture of the sleeping Iphigenia for its charm and metrical skill.

At the moment when Aikin's preface was published, Scott was preparing his edition of Dryden's works. On hearing of the project in 1805 and again when it was nearing completion in 1808, Wordsworth set forth his views on Dryden.¹ He told Scott that his political poems were far the most outstanding, but that there was great merit in the *Fables*. However, he did not extend his admiration to the versions from Chaucer and declared roundly that Dryden had spoiled the poems, 'even wantonly deviating from his great original, and always for the worse'. He regarded the translations from Boccaccio as the best of Dryden's poems, or at least as the most poetical. In spite of this eulogy it may be doubted whether Wordsworth cared greatly for these versions, since, by his own admission, Dryden was not one of his favourites. Moreover, it is significant that he speaks as if they were only two in number. Of these two, 'Theodore and Honoria' is merely glanced at, and one can readily understand that the poem which sent an agreeable thrill of horror down the spine of John Aikin, left unmoved one who was himself unconcerned with the art of freezing the blood. Of 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo' he has more to say. He reproaches Dryden for having ruined Guiscardo's noble reply to Tancred, 'Amor può molto più

¹ Cf. *The Early Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, ed. E. de Selincourt, Oxford, 1935, pp. 540-2 and *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, The Middle Years*, ed. E. de Selincourt, Oxford, 1937, Vol. I, p. 458c.

che ne voi ne io possiamo', by expanding it into 'four lines of miserable rant à la Maximin'.¹ He also maintained that Dryden had 'much injured the story by the marriage'. This change had degraded the character of Sigismonda, which was rendered still baser by 'making her love absolute sensuality and appetite'. Wordsworth adds the reflection that Dryden 'had no other notion of the passion', an observation which is paralleled by an earlier comment that Dryden had 'neither a tender heart nor a lofty sense of dignity'. Nevertheless, he clearly found something to admire in 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo' and, in spite of its blemishes, held it to be a noble poem.

Evidently Scott agreed with some of Wordsworth's criticisms which are echoed in the 1808 edition of Dryden's works. Thus we read that 'the retort of Guiscardo to Tancred's charge of ingratitude is more sublime in the Italian original, than as diluted by the English poet into five hexameters'.² Further, Scott speaks of the coarse and indelicate character of Sigismonda, a fault engrafted upon the original. Like Wordsworth, he asserts that Dryden was incapable of anything but a gross conception of love and adds:

This error, grounded upon Dryden's false view of the passion and of the female character, and perhaps arising from the depravity of the age rather than of the poet, pervades and greatly injures the effect of the tale.³

Thus while condemning Dryden as heartily as Wordsworth on this score, Scott does find some extenuating circumstances.

In general his appreciation is far more constructive than that of Wordsworth. As a novelist he especially valued the psychological insight with which Dryden had portrayed a woman in despair:

Sigismonda is placed in that situation in which, above all others, the human disposition seems to acquire a sort of supernatural strength or obstinacy: for although guilty of a crime, she is punished in a degree far exceeding the measure of the offence. In such a situation, that acuteness of feeling, which would otherwise waste itself in fluctuations betwixt shame, fear, and remorse, is willingly and eagerly turned into the channel of resistance and recrimination; and perhaps no readier mode can be discovered of hardening the human heart, even to the consistence of the nether millstone. It is in this state, that Sigismonda resolutely, and even joyfully, embraces death, in order to punish her father, and rejoin her lover. The previous arguments with Tancred, sufficiently, and, in the circumstances, naturally, intimate the tone of her mind, and are a striking instance of Dryden's power in painting passion wrought up to desperation.⁴

It is again the psychological problem that attracts Scott in 'Theodore and Honoria', but this time it is the reaction of the human mind to the super-

¹ Maximin is the hero of Dryden's *Tyrannic Love*.

² Vol. I, pp. 497-8.

³ Vols. I, p. 498 and XI, p. 403.

⁴ Vol. XI, p. 404.

natural. After declaring that this poem proves how well Dryden's powers 'were adapted for the management of the machinery, or supernatural agency of an epic poem, had his situation suffered him to undertake the task he so long meditated', Scott continues:

Nothing can be more highly painted than the circumstances preliminary of the apparition;—the deepening gloom, the falling wind, the commencement of an earthquake; above all, the indescribable sensation of horror with which Theodore is affected, even ere he sees the actors in the supernatural tragedy. The appearance of the female, of the gaunt mastiffs by which she is pursued, and of the infernal huntsman, are all in the highest tone of poetry, and could only be imitated by the pencil of Salvator. There is also a masterly description of Theodore's struggles between his native courage, prompted by chivalrous education, and that terror which the presence of supernatural beings imposes upon the living. It is by the account of the impression, which such a sight makes upon the supposed spectator, more even than by a laboured description of the vision itself, that the narrator of such a tale must hope to excite the sympathetic awe of his audience. Thus, in the vision so sublimely described in the book of Job, chap. iv., no external cause of terror is even sketched in outline, and our feelings of dread are only excited by the fear which came upon the spectator, and the trembling which made all his bones to shake. But the fable of Dryden combines a most impressive description of the vision, with a detailed account of its effect upon Theodore, and both united make the most admirable poem of the kind that ever was written. . . . The second apparition of the infernal hunter to the assembled guests, is as striking as the first; a circumstance well worthy of notice, when we consider the difficulty and hazard of telling such a story twice. But in the second narration, the poet artfully hurries over the particulars of the lady's punishment, which were formerly given in detail, and turns the reader's attention upon the novel effect produced by it, upon the assembled guests, which is admirably described, as 'a mute scene of sorrow mixed with fear'. The interrupted banquet, the appalled gallants, and the terrified women, grouped with the felon knight, his meagre mastiffs, and mangled victim, displays the hand of the master poet.¹

As one reads this passage, it is impossible not to feel how keenly alive Scott was to a display of skill in narrative technique and also how profoundly stirred he was by the eeriness of the story. Clearly it thrilled him with the same sensations as he experienced in childhood when revelling in tales of the strange and terrible, and one recalls that the critic of 'Theodore and Honoria' was also the translator of *Der wilde Jäger*.

The only adverse remarks made by Scott on the second of these adaptations from Boccaccio are that 'it is somewhat derogatory from the dignity of the apparition, that Theodore, once having witnessed its terrors, should coolly lay a scheme for converting them to his own advantage' and that 'the machinery is too powerful for the effect produced by it' at the close; 'a lady's heart might have been melted without so terrible an example of the punishment of obduracy'. However, Scott himself recognizes that the first

¹ Vol. XI, pp. 433-4.

objection really applies to the Italian original, and, although he does not say so, the same holds good of the second.

Though Scott wrote of 'Theodore and Honoria' with an enthusiasm that was evidently alien to Wordsworth, he probably thought little more than his friend did of 'Cymon and Iphigenia'. It is true that he praises the beautiful and melodious poetry of the passage, 'so often quoted, in which Dryden describes the sleeping nymph, and the effect of her beauty upon the clownish Cymon', and he rightly attributes the popularity of the tale from the Renaissance onwards to the fascination of 'a passion, which almost all have felt at one period of their life, and love to read and hear of afterwards'. But Scott has nothing else to say in favour of the poem. With his sense of plot and feeling for design, he found a lack of unity between the earlier and the later parts, the striking episode of Cymon's transformation by love being obscured by the incidents that follow.

Cymon might have carried off Iphigene, and all the changes of fortune which afterwards take place might have happened, though his love had commenced in an ordinary manner; nor is there anything in his character or mode of conduct, which calls back to our recollection, his having such a miraculous instance of the power of love. In short, in the progress of the tale, we quite lose sight of its original and striking commencement; nor do we find much compensation by the introduction of the new actor Lysander, with whose passion and disappointment we have little sympathy; and whose expedients, as Dryden plainly confesses, are no other than an abuse of his public office by the commission of murder and rape.¹

There was one passage in the poem that caught Scott's eye for a somewhat curious reason. It is that in which Dryden interweaves a gibe at the militia of his day:

The country rings around with loud alarms,
And raw in fields the rude militia swarms;
Mouths without hands; maintain'd at vast expense,
In peace a charge, in war a weak defense:
Stout once a month they march, a blust'ring band,
And ever, but in times of need, at hand.
This was the morn when, issuing on the guard,
Drawn up in rank and file they stood prepar'd
Of seeming arms to make a short essay,
Then hasten to be drunk, the business of the day.²

Himself a volunteer, Scott proudly contrasts with this untrained rabble the 'permanent fencible regiments' of the Napoleonic period, 'differing from those of the line only in the mode of raising them, and the extent of service'.³

In view of Scott's predilection for the warlike and ceremonial aspects of the Middle Ages, it was but natural that he should be attracted by Dryden's

¹ Vol. XI, pp. 452-3.

² Ll. 399-408.

³ Vol. XI, pp. 465-6, note.

account of the procession of the fairy knights in 'The Flower and the Leaf'.¹ Even more, however, did he admire 'Palamon and Arcite'. Not only was he impressed by the firmness of its design but also by the magnificence of such descriptions as that of the champions who came to take part in the tournament and that of the battle itself with all its fluctuations and suspense. All this, Scott claimed, was 'so spirited a transfusion' of Chaucer's ideas into modern verse that it almost deserved to be called original. And as for the account of the beginning of the tourney, which is almost entirely Dryden's work, it seemed to exhibit 'the merit of invention added to that of imitation'. Scott finds fault with Dryden for a certain indelicacy of emphasis in Palamon's prayer to Venus but approves of his omission or toning down of various circumstances too degrading or disgusting, grotesque or ludicrous, in the picture of the temple of Mars. In the dialogue, according to Scott, Dryden frequently improves on Chaucer, but falls short of him in simple description or pathetic effect. For example, the quarrel between Palamon and Arcite derives a greater energy from the addition of the lines relating to the hostility of the captives:

Now friends no more, nor walking hand in hand,
But when they met, they made a surly stand,
And glared like angry lions as they passed,
And wished that every look might be their last.

On the other hand, for all the beauty of Dryden's verse, Chaucer's portrait of Emily is superior, while the dying speech of Arcite in the *Fables* is overloaded with conceits that strike a false note, if the passage is compared with the corresponding lines in Chaucer.

In such light and ludicrous fables as 'The Cock and the Fox' and 'The Wife of Bath, her Tale' the masterly terseness of Dryden the satirist is continually revealed, and Scott finds in them all the humorous turn of his satires with none of their personality. 'There is indeed', he says, 'a quaint Cervantic gravity in his mode of expressing himself, that often glances forth, and enlivens what would otherwise be mere dry narrative'.²

Summing up his survey of the fables from Chaucer and Boccaccio, Scott admits that something is lost for those who can read the tales in their original form, but he points out that Dryden's object was to make them accessible to the readers of his age. Moreover, there are compensations. It must be conceded, Scott says,

that, in passages of gorgeous description, he has added even to the chivalrous splendour of Chaucer, and has graced with poetical ornament the simplicity of Boccaccio; that, if he has failed in tenderness, he is never deficient in majesty;

¹ Like other critics at this time, Scott followed Dryden in attributing this poem to Chaucer.

² To illustrate this he cites l. 247 of 'Cymon and Iphigenia':

While Cymon was endeavouring to be wise.

and that if the heart be sometimes untouched, the understanding and fancy are always exercised and delighted.

As a conscientious editor Scott felt obliged to touch on the translations from the classics which are included among the *Fables*. He glances at 'the beautiful and unequalled version of the Tale of Myrrha from the *Metamorphoses*',¹ but in general he is critical of the renderings from Ovid. In these, he contends, Dryden was often tempted to indulge in his youthful practice of false wit and to introduce 'antithetical prettinesses' for which there was no warrant in the original.² As for his version from the first book of the *Iliad*, Scott maintains that the simplicity of the ancient Greek world has become a vulgar and inelegant travesty. Thus Jupiter refers to Juno as

My household curse, my lawful plague, the spy
Of Jove's designs, his other squinting eye.

The second illustration of this burlesque effect that Scott gives is taken from the ending, where 'the ambrosial feast of Olympus concludes like a tavern revel':

Drunken at last, and drowsy they depart,
Each to his house, adorn'd with labor'd art
Of the lame architect: the thund'ring god—
Ev'n he withdrew to rest, and had his load;
His swimming head to needful sleep applied,
And Juno lay unheeded by his side.³

Like Scott, Byron was attracted to the tale of 'Theodore and Honoria', though probably for a very different reason. It is conceivable that in reading of the harshness of a woman and her punishment Byron was not unaffected by his unhappy domestic relations. However that may be, this is the one tale from the *Decameron* to which he alludes. When he was living at Ravenna in 1819 and 1820, the sight of the forest of the Pineta suggested to him again and again⁴ the 'Huntsman's Ghost' and the spectre that came thundering for his prey in the midst of the festival. Always it is Dryden's version that leaps into his mind.

The persistent influence of Dryden's fables from Boccaccio is similarly discernible in Hazlitt's writings. Though for the most part he knew the *Decameron* in the English translation first published in 1620, when he discusses the three tales that Dryden had made familiar, he almost invariably alludes to them as they appear in the poetic form of the *Fables*.⁵

¹ Vol. I, p. 516.

² *Ibid.*, p. 518, where Scott gives examples from 'The Speeches of Ajax and Ulysses', ll. 109-10 and 115-16.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 519-20.

⁴ *Letters and Journals*, ed. R. E. Prothero, Vol. IV, p. 320 and Vol. V, pp. 140 and 206.

⁵ This is shown by the names of the characters, for Dryden's Sigismonda, Theodore, Honoria, and Cymon and Iphigenia are distinctive. Hazlitt twice speaks of 'Iphigene', the form used by Dryden in the text, though ordinarily he prefers 'Iphigenia', which comes from the title of the poem, and twice of 'Cimon' (*Works*, ed. P. P. Howe, Vol. IV, p. 332).

He himself tells us that he read them habitually. It would seem, however, that he was less interested in 'Cymon and Iphigenia', which he did not rank among the best of Boccaccio's stories, in spite of its great repute.¹ He thought very highly of 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo' and commends it for its impassioned eloquence.² He even claims that it has fully retained, if not improved upon the magnificent declamation of the original,³ and the greatest eulogy that he can bestow on Pope's 'Eloisa to Abelard' is to say that it will bear the test of comparison with 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo'.⁴ On the other hand, Hazlitt asserts that in 'Theodore and Honoria' Dryden has given but an inadequate idea of the wild, preternatural effect of Boccaccio's tale.⁵ Yet strangely enough, it is this very tale over which he lingers with loving devotion in 'A Farewell to Essay-Writing'. As he walks in a wood and hears the rustle of the leaves, his thoughts travel to that other wood near Ravenna:

I . . . can fancy that I distinguish the cry of hounds, and the fatal group issuing from it, as in the tale of Theodore and Honoria. A moaning gust of wind aids the belief; I look once more to see whether the trees before me answer to the idea of the horror-stricken grove, and an air-built city towers over their grey tops.

Of all the cities in Romanian lands
The chief and most renown'd Ravenna stands.

I return home resolved to read the entire poem through, and, after dinner, drawing my chair to the fire, and holding a small print close to my eyes, launch into the full tide of Dryden's couplets (a stream of sound), comparing his didactic and descriptive pomp with the simple pathos and picturesque truth of Boccaccio's story.⁶

Here unfavourable criticism is latent in the appreciation, for Hazlitt recognized that with all 'the firm and stately march of the verse' something had been lost in the process of transmutation.

Equally he perceived that Dryden was in some ways out of tune with the mediæval world. Not that he himself was altogether sound on the subject of Chaucer, as may be gathered from his remark that Dryden 'ekes out the lameness' of his verse.⁷ But he did at any rate see that 'The Flower and the Leaf' had nothing of 'the enchanting simplicity and concentrated feeling' of the early poem.⁸

and Vol. XVI, p. 48) which is to be regarded as a mere spelling variant of 'Cymon' (*Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 225). On one occasion only, when writing to Miss Stoddart in 1808, which is the earliest instance of his quoting the name, Hazlitt alludes to 'Chynon' (cf. W. C. Hazlitt, *Memoirs of William Hazlitt*, London, 1867, Vol. I, p. 153) which is the form employed in the 1620 translation of the *Decameron*.

¹ *Works*, ed. Howe, Vols. IV, p. 332 and XVI, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, Vols. IV, p. 332 and XVI, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 76.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vols. IV, p. 332, V, p. 82 and XVI, p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 315.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 82.

⁸ *Ibid.*

REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE OF DRYDEN'S 'FABLES' 33

Up to a point Leigh Hunt is a more severe judge than Hazlitt. He objects to what he calls Dryden's 'Charles-the-Second taste', which in his opinion spoiled the sentiment of Boccaccio's love-stories. Oddly enough, by a singular anachronism, he refers to the introduction of the priest in 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo' as if it were a concession to the age of the Merry Monarch, instead of to the age of Jeremy Collier.¹ But he does consider it a blemish. As a rule, however, Hunt confines himself to the examination of isolated passages. The one which was evidently a favourite with him was the account of the sleeping Iphigenia, with its concluding lines:

The fanning wind upon her bosom blows,
To meet the fanning wind the bosom rose;
The fanning wind and purling streams continue her repose.

Hunt rightly pointed out that in the description there were unmistakable echoes of Spenser's portrait of Belpheobe,² and perhaps with less justice contended that the final triplet was inspired by a stanza in the picture of the Bowre of Blis.³ Yet his pleasure was in no wise abated by the detection of fancied detection of Spenser's subtle music in the strong rhythm of Dryden. 'This beautiful conclusion', he wrote, 'with its repetitions, its play to and fro, and the long continuous line with which it terminates, is delightfully soft and characteristic. The beauty of the sleeper and of the landscape mingle with one another'. Hunt singles out the description of the sleeping Iphigenia once more in his *Imagination and Fancy*, where it serves to emphasize what he terms the 'see-saw' of Pope's couplet as illustrated by the portrait of Belinda in *The Rape of the Lock*.⁴ Another passage

¹ Francesco Redi, *Bacchus in Tuscany*, translated by Leigh Hunt, London, 1825, p. 135, notes.

² Attention may be drawn to the similarity between *Faerie Queene*, II, iii, st. 29, ll. 5-9:

a golden bauldrick, which forelay
Athwart her daintie paps; which, like young fruit in May,
Now little gan to swell, and being tide,
Through her thin weed their places only signified.

and 'Cymon and Iphigenia', ll. 100-3:

Her body shaded with a slight simar;
Her bosom to the view was only bare,
Where two beginning paps were scarcely spied,
For yet their places were but signified.

There is also a close parallel between *Faerie Queene*, II, iii, st. 31, ll. 1-2:

Such as Diana by the sandy shore
Of swift Eurotas. . . .

and 'Cymon and Iphigenia', ll. 93-4:

Like Dian and her nymphs, when, tir'd with sport,
To rest by cool Eurotas they resort.

³ *Faerie Queene*, II, xii, st. 71. See Leigh Hunt, *Men, Women and Books*, London, 1847, pp. 269-71.

⁴ Hunt quotes Canto II, ll. 7-18. See his *Imagination and Fancy*, London, 1845, pp. 50-2. Like Hazlitt, who spoke of 'the regular sing-song of Pope' (*Works*, ed. Howe, Vol. IV, p. 39), Hunt did not grasp how well Pope's metre was suited to his purpose.

that Hunt praised, as others had done before him, was the description in 'Theodore and Honoria' of the scene just before the hero becomes aware of the ghostly huntsman.¹ He liked it because of the variety that Dryden obtained by letting some of his couplets overflow one into the other, 'all of it modulated . . . according to the feeling demanded by the occasion'.²

Much as Hunt admired these passages, he felt that Dryden was less happy in his handling of Chaucer, and he shows how inferior is the artificial tone of 'Palamon and Arcite' in comparison with the naturalness of Chaucer's pathos in the following lines:

Whan that Arcite to Thebes comen was,
Ful ofte a day he swelte and seyde, 'allas',
For seen his lady shal he never-mo.
And shortly to concluden al his wo,
So muche sorwe had never creature
That is, or shal, whyl that the world may dure.
His sleep, his mete, his drink is him biraft,
That lene he wex, and drye as is a shaft.
His eyen holwe, and grisly to biholde;
His hewe falwe, and pale as asshen colde,
And solitarie he was, and ever allone,
And wailling al the night, making his mone.
And if he herde song or instrument,
Then wolde he wepe, he mighte nat be stent.³

Having eulogized the exquisiteness of the reference to music, Hunt proceeds to denounce the corresponding lines in Dryden's version. 'Writing for the court of Charles the Second',⁴ he says,

[Dryden] does not dare to let Arcite weep, when he hears music. He restricts him to a gentlemanly sigh—

He sighs when songs or instruments he hears.

The cold ashes, which have lost their fire . . . he turns to 'sapless boxen leaves' (a classical simile); and far be it from him to venture to say 'swell'. No gentleman ever 'swell'd';⁵ certainly not with sighing, whatever he might have done with drinking. But instead of that, the modern poet does not mind indulging him with a good canting commonplace, in the style of the fustian tragedies.

He raved with all the madness of despair:
He raved, he beat his breast, he tore his hair.

And then we must have a solid sensible reason for the lover's not weeping:

Dry sorrow in his stupid eyes appears,
For wanting nourishment, he wanted tears!

It was not sufficient, that upon the principle of extremes meeting, the excess of sorrow was unable to weep—that even self-pity seemed wasted. When the fine

¹ Ll. 88-99.

² *Imagination and Fancy*, p. 52.

³ I have quoted the text of Skeat's edition, ll. 1355-68.

⁴ Hunt was clearly unaware that the *Fables* appeared in 1700, when Charles II had been dead for fifteen years.

⁵ Hunt read 'swell'd' instead of 'swelte', that is, 'died'.

gentlemen of the court of Charles the Second, and when Charles himself, wept (see Pepys), it was when they grew maudlin over their wine, and thought how piteous it was that such good eaters and drinkers should not have everything else to their liking.¹

And the conclusion to which Hunt came was that Chaucer was a much greater poet than Dryden. Such comment, while it lays its finger on a weakness in Dryden, reveals only too clearly the limitations of the critic. But at least it helps to prove that even in the middle of the nineteenth century the *Fables* were still taken seriously.

Their influence in another direction must also be considered. Incidentally it has already been observed that D'Urfey acknowledged Dryden as the model for his *Tales Tragical and Comical*. There can be little doubt that the *Violenta* of Mary Griffith Pix, a metrical version in the heroic couplet of the eighth tale in the second day of the *Decameron*, which also appeared in 1704, was inspired by the *Fables*. Pope himself states that his translations from Chaucer were occasioned by those of Dryden, George Ogle recognizes his debt openly, and Frederick Howard, Earl of Carlisle, whose play, *The Father's Revenge*, was published in 1783, similarly admits that it had been prompted by 'Sigismonda and Guiscardo'.² In 1847, Emma Martin, in the prologue to her rendering of *Frederic and the Falcon*, likewise indicates that she had learnt at the hands of the master. It is probable that her choice of this theme was due in some degree to Hazlitt, for in his lectures on the English poets in 1818 he had urged his contemporaries to do for 'some of the other serious tales in Boccaccio and Chaucer, as that of Isabella, The Falcon, of Constance, the Prioress's Tale, and others' what Dryden had done in his *Fables*.³ The effect of this advice was far-reaching. It is most conspicuous in the narrative poems of Keats, on which he was at work in 1818 and 1819. They fall into three groups, and these three groups can be regarded as counterparts to Dryden's three sources—Boccaccio, Chaucer and the classics. In 'Isabella' the choice of a theme from Boccaccio specifically recommended by Hazlitt is significant,⁴ and while 'The Eve of St. Agnes' and 'The Eve of St. Mark' are not derived from Chaucer, their background is mediæval.⁵ As for 'Lamia', it is true that Hazlitt did not advocate imitation of Dryden's tales from the classics, but it ought surely to be regarded as arising out of this section of the *Fables*. The transformations of Lamia, even if they are not strictly akin to those in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, offer a parallel, and the versification is modelled on Dryden's use of the heroic couplet. Though this metre did not find much

¹ *Essays*, London, 1841, 'The Seer', p. 59.

² In the Prologue of the edition printed in 1800. ³ *Works*, ed. Howe, Vol. V, p. 82.

⁴ The importance of Hazlitt's lecture as an inspiration for 'Isabella' was first recognized by Professor D. Nichol Smith and afterwards elaborated by Professor H. W. Garrod (cf. *Times Literary Supplement*, 19 March 1925, p. 199).

⁵ 'The Eve of St. Mark' is an attempt in the mediæval style, though the diction is reminiscent of Chatterton rather than of Chaucer.

favour with nineteenth-century writers, many wrote verse-tales on subjects from the *Decameron*. Among these are Keats's friend John Hamilton Reynolds¹ and his contemporaries Charles Lloyd² and Bryan Waller Procter ('Barry Cornwall').³ The theme of the Falcon was especially popular and left its mark not only in the writings of Procter and Emma Martin, but also in those of Longfellow, Coventry Patmore and James Payn.⁴ Other poems from Boccaccio by the last-named of these,⁵ by John Payne⁶ and Swinburne⁷ provide abundant evidence of the extent to which the example of Dryden's *Fables*, reinforced by the powerful advocacy of Hazlitt, stimulated the writing of verse-tales. Some of these stories were likewise given dramatic form, as in Gerald Griffin's play *Gisippus*⁸ and Tennyson's *The Falcon*.⁹

The vogue enjoyed by Dryden's *Fables* also left traces in the sphere of pictorial art. In addition to the painting by Hogarth,¹⁰ of which mention has already been made, the story of Theodore and Honoria inspired Fuseli. He was steeped in the poetry of Dryden whom he ranked with Shakespeare and Milton,¹¹ and the tale about the avenging spectral huntsman was entirely congenial to his romantic taste. His work on this subject was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1817.¹² About the middle of the nineteenth century the same tale provided Watts with a theme, and his enormous painting remained on the walls of his studio after it had been taken over by the Cosmopolitan Club.¹³ However, the third of the stories from Boccaccio seems to have appealed most strongly to painters, doubtless because it dealt with the ennobling influence of beauty. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted 'Cymon and Iphigenia', but it was less successful than his portraits and was still on his hands at the time of his death.¹⁴ Two

¹ See 'The Garden of Florence' and 'The Ladye of Provence' in *The Garden of Florence and other poems*, London, 1821.

² See 'Titus and Gisippus' in *Desultory Thoughts in London, Titus and Gisippus, with other Poems*, London, 1821.

³ See 'The Two Dreams', 'Love cured by Kindness', 'The Broken Heart', 'The Falcon', and 'A Sicilian Story' in his *Poetical Works*, London, 1822.

⁴ See 'Federigo and Giovanna' in *Stories from Boccaccio and other poems*, London, 1852.

⁵ 'Pasquino and Simona', 'Girolamo and Salvestra', 'Guiscard and Ghismond', 'Gomito and Constance', and 'Isabel'.

⁶ See 'Salvestra' in *New Poems*, London, 1880.

⁷ 'The White Hind' in MS. attributed by Mr. T. J. Wise to the year 1858, this being a draft of 'The Two Dreams', published in *Poems and Ballads* in 1866.

⁸ Composed early in the 1820's and published in 1842.

⁹ Produced by the Kendals at the St. James's Theatre in December, 1879, and published in 1884.

¹⁰ 'Sigismonda mourning over the heart of Guiscardo.' Now No. 1046 in the Tate Gallery.

¹¹ Cf. John Knowles, *The Life and Writings of Henry Fuseli*, London, 1831, Vol. I, p. 358.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 416-17.

¹³ Cf. Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, *Notes from a Diary, 1851-72*, London, 1897, Vol. I, p. 100.

¹⁴ John Knowles, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 62. It is now in Buckingham Palace.

REPUTATION AND INFLUENCE OF DRYDEN'S 'FABLES' 37

painters of less durable fame in the next century, Millais¹ and Leighton,² followed his example. In every instance the form of the names given by these artists to their work leaves no doubt that the ultimate source from which they derived their inspiration was Dryden.

Quite apart from the contribution of the Preface to English criticism and its value as a factor in the development of our prose, the *Fables* have therefore greater significance than has perhaps been recognized. The large number of editions to which they ran, the comments, partly critical, partly enthusiastic, of so many writers, the imitations, direct or indirect, by poets great and small, and the pictorial creations both of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century artists, amply warrant Hazlitt's statement that Dryden's tales 'have been, upon the whole, the most popular of his works'.³

¹ In 1847 Millais painted 'Cymon', a study for his 'Cymon and Iphigenia', which was completed in 1851. Cf. M. H. Spielmann, *Millais and his Works*, London, 1898, p. 167.

² Leighton's 'Cymon and Iphigenia' was finished in 1884. Cf. Mrs. Russell Barrington, *The Life, Letters and Work of Frederic Leighton*, London, 1906, Vol. II, p. 258, n. 1 and p. 389.

³ *Works*, ed. Howe, Vol. V, p. 82.

NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS
THE LATIN POEM ADDRESSED BY DONNE TO
DR. ANDREWS

DE LIBRO CUM MVTV—
aretur, Impresso, Domi a pueris fru-
st[r]atim lacerato, et post reddito
Manuscripto.
Doctissimo Amicissimoque v.
D. D. Andrews.

Parturiunt madido quae nixu præla, recepta ;	
Sed quae scripta manu sunt, veneranda magis.	
Transiit in Sequanam Mœnus ; Victoris in aedes,	
Et Francofurtum, te revehente meat.	
Qui liber in pluteos, blattis, cinerique relictos,	5
Si modo sit præli sanguine tinctus, abit,	
Accedat calamo scriptus, reverenter habetur,	
Involat & veterum scrinia summa Patrum.	
Dicat Apollo modum ; Pueros infundere libro	
Nempe vetustatem canitiemque novo.	10
Nil mirum, medico pueros de sanguine natos,	
Haec nova fata libro posse dedisse novo.	
Si veterem faciunt pueri, qui nuperus, Annon	
Ipse Pater, Iuvenem, me dabit arte, senem ?	
Hei miseris senibus ; nos vertit dura senectus	15
Omnes in pueros, neminem at in Iuvenem.	
Hoc tibi servasti præstandum, Antiquæ Dierum,	
Quo viso, & vivit, & juvenescit Adam.	
Interea, Infirmæ fallamus tædia vitæ,	
Libris, & Cælorum æmulâ amicitia.	20
Hos inter, qui à te mihi redditus, iste libellus,	
Non mihi tam carus, tam meus, ante fuit.	

I give the text of the edition of 1635, in which the verses first appear. If in one or two minutiae of punctuation my record differs from that of Grierson, that is not my fault, nor does it matter.

I will begin with a suggestion upon the date of the poem. Lines 3-4 connect it with Paris. Donne was in Paris in 1612. I cannot think it is for nothing that, in all editions from 1635 to 1669, the poem is immediately preceded by Donne's Latin letter to Sir Henry Goodyere ('Hen. Goodere'). That letter, rightly dated by Chambers (ii. p. 310) and Mrs. Simpson

(*The Courtier's Library*, p. 4) as belonging to the year 1611, mentions Donne's projected journey to 'extera regna'. I suppose the poem to have been written in Paris in 1612.

It is not an easy poem. But it is not so difficult as the commentaries upon it. Of these, one at least is in all parts of it absurd. I set it out here as one of the curiosities of literary criticism. Speaking of the spring of 1608, 'It may have been about this time', Gosse writes, 'that "his very learned friend", Dr. Lancelot Andrews, lent Donne a printed book, which fell into the hands of the children in the Mitcham house, and was by them torn to pieces. It was a copy of "Mœnus", whatever that might be, and it had already passed to Frankfort, with Andrews on his travels. I would venture to suggest that by "Mœnus" may be meant Molinus or Molinæus—Pierre du Moulin (1588–1658), with whom Andrews entered into controversy. Donne was obliged to have the whole volume copied, and returned to Andrews in manuscript, accompanied by a set of agreeable apologetic verses.'

What Latin Gosse had, I do not know. Plainly, it was not enough to enable him to understand the text on which he was so bold as to comment. It needs but a little Latin to discover, reading the poem, that it was not Dr. Andrews who lent the book to Donne, nor Donne's children at Mitcham who tore it to pieces. It was Donne who lent the book to Dr. Andrews, and Dr. Andrews' children who played havoc with it. But this is not the worst. The person to whom Donne's poem is addressed was a doctor of medicine; so much is certain from lines 9–10. Those lines indicate also that he was married, or at any rate that he had children. That Bishop Lancelot Andrews took a degree in medicine, I never heard. Nor that he was married. Nor that he had children. Nor that at any time he and Donne were on terms of close friendship, so that Donne might properly call him 'amicissimus'. We have to seek for some other Dr. Andrews. Grosart suggested Francis Andrews—a sweet singer whose verse continues almost unknown in a famous folio of the British Museum, wherein he occupies with Donne, Ben Jonson, and others, a large space with somewhat notable poems'. Whether anything is known of the life of Francis Andrews which could support this conjecture, I cannot say. But at least it is approved (I gather) by Chambers and Grierson.

'Mœnus' Gosse supposes to be the name of a book. In this he follows Grosart. But the suggestion that 'Mœnus' is another name for Molinæus is all his own. 'Mœnus' is the Latin for the river Maine. Why Donne, or any man writing a book, should call Molinæus by the name of this particular river, leaves me, like much else in Gosse, guessing.

The Maine, says Donne, has become a tributary of the Seine. These two rivers, so conjoined by Donne, certainly are not plain sailing. Better men

than Gosse have been in difficulties with them. As long ago as 1895, Norton suggested that the verses (3-4) in which they are mentioned had no proper place in the poem. In 1912, Grierson boldly excised them, making of them 'a separate epigram'. In this he has been followed (1941) by Mr. Hayward; who, however, goes a little further, printing the lines as a separate epigram, but relegating them to italic type, 'since it is doubtful if Donne wrote them' (p. 780). Certainly, isolated, they make a very indifferent epigram. 'The Maine passed to the Seine, into the house of the Victor, and with your return comes to Frankfurt.' So Grierson renders them, changing the punctuation of all our texts, and achieving, even so, next to no meaning. He supposes his couplet to be 'addressed to some one who had travelled to Paris from Frankfurt, on an Embassy to the King of France, and had returned'. Of this Embassy, dignified by a capital initial, and an epigram of Donne, History is silent. About his 'Victor', about this King of France, Grierson keeps his own counsel. Perhaps wisely. If the date I have suggested for the poem be correct, the 'Victor' would be Louis XIII, who, in 1612, was eleven years old. Grosart, less discreet than Grierson, suggested Louis XIV. Truly, Louis XIV was some Victor. But he came to the throne (at the age of four) when Donne had been in his grave twelve years.

Lines 3-4 are, no doubt, obscure and difficult. But I do not see why Donne should be allowed to be obscure only in English; nor why, when he writes difficult Latin, his editors should emulate the mischievous children of Dr. Andrews, and tear to pieces a printed text. I take the lines to be an integral part of the poem. And I think they can be explained. But, first, I will translate the poem, as best I can. I would notice, in passing, that a verse-rendering of it may be found in Grosart: if Gosse had been at pains to read it, he would have saved himself, and his readers, a good deal of trouble.

To the very learned and very friendly gentleman, Dr. Andrews,¹ Concerning a book which, when he borrowed it, was a printed book, but which was torn to pieces at home by his children, and subsequently restored to its owner written out by hand:

What the printing-presses bring to birth with inky travail we take as it comes; but what is written out by hand is in greater reverence. The Maine has become tributary to the Seine; brought back the captive of your triumph, even Frankfurt² passes to the halls of its conqueror. A book which, if it has been baptised merely in the blood of the printing-press, goes to shelves resigned to moth and dust; let it but come to us written by the pen, and it is received with reverence and wings its way to the high-perched cases which shrine the ancient Fathers. Apollo must tell the manner of its happening—that

¹ Sir Edmund Chambers interprets the letters v.D.D. as v[iro] D[edit] D[edicavit]; or v[iro] D[edit] D[onne]. I am sorry to differ from so great a man. But I have no doubt that the letters are properly interpreted v[iro] D[omino] D[octori].

² The *Et* of line 4 is, I think, for *Etiam*. After *aedes* our texts, 1535-69, have a comma. In modern printing, we should dispense with the comma (and put a comma after *revehente*).

children smear upon a new book old age and grayness. 'Tis small marvel that children who come of the stock of a physician should have been able to give this new destiny to a new book. If children make old a book that is new, shall not their father by his healing art make me that am old a youth?

Alas, for us miserable old men! Unfeeling eld turns all of us into children, but no one of us into a youth. This power to give back youth thou hast reserved for Thyself, Ancient of Days; beholding Thee, Adam takes life and youth again. Meanwhile: let us beguile life's dullness with books, and with companionship emulous of heaven.

Among books, that unimportant one which you have restored to me is dearer to me, and more mine, than it was before.

The world's best books are, not printed books, but manuscripts! That, plausible and intelligible, is the general thesis of the poem. In lines 3-4, I suppose the Maine to be mentioned because on its banks stand the towns of Mainz and Frankfurt; the one the nursery of the art of printing, the home of Gutenberg and of Fust; the other the grand market-place of printed books. When Dr. Andrews replaced a printed book by a manuscript worthy to stand with the manuscripts of the Fathers of the Church, he undid (Donne would have him believe) the work of Gutenberg, he beat the printers, he won victory confessed over all sellers of printed books. Working in Paris, he made the Maine tributary to the Seine;¹ he led Frankfurt captive. What the book was which Donne lent to him, I do not know. It would not surprise me if it was a book printed in Frankfurt; at least, it was a book sold there. By *Victoris in ædes* is meant, not the palace of Louis XIII (nor of Louis XIV), but the house of Dr. Andrews, the conqueror of the printers and printed-book-sellers. He brings the personified Frankfurt back in the car of his triumph—for *revehente*, we may compare *triumphali curru revectus* in Pliny H.H. vii, 96. My rendering of lines 9-10 follows Grosart. If it gives Donne's meaning correctly, I must think his Latin clumsy. In line 14, I do not know whether we are to suppose Donne to speak of himself (just past his fortieth year) as an old man. In *The Autumnal*, 'we are fifty years', he says, 'in compassing' old age (33-4). To-day, we call fifty middle-age, or less. The men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries aged more rapidly—and knew it. Donne's *senem* may, indeed, be merely hypothetical. But we know that he was ill in Paris. 'I have a minde', he writes, at a somewhat later date, 'like those bodies which have hot livers and cold stomachs; or *such a distemper as travelled me at Paris*; a fever and dysentery: in which, that which is physick to one infirmity, nourishes the other' (*Letters*, 1651, p. 42). Of one kind of age, Donne was, perhaps, already sensible. 'There is an old age', he writes, 'expressed by that phrase, *The old man*, which the Apostle speaks of, which

¹ Donne's *Transiit in Sequanam Mœnus* recalls Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* iv, 10, *Mosa . . . in Rhenum transiit*—the Maas is a tributary of the Rhine'. (Our modern texts have there *in Rhenum influit*, but older texts offer *transiit*.)

is that naturall corruption and disposition to sin, cast upon us by Adam' (*LXXX Sermons*, p. 543). But it suffices here, I think, to remember that the poem is the poem of a sick man.

H. W. GARROD.

MASSON'S DIAGRAM OF MILTON'S SPACES

(A Note on *Paradise Lost*, I, 73-4)

Such place Eternal Justice had prepar'd
For those rebellious, here their Prison ordain'd
In utter darkness, and thir portion set
As far remov'd from God and light of Heav'n
As from the Center thrice to th' utmost Pole.
O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

Of the lines italicized Bentley observed in his literal way, 'the distance is much too little'. Other eighteenth-century commentators were content to point out that Milton's 'utmost Pole' is the pole of the stellar universe, and to quote the classical sources of the lines—sources all commentators continue to quote without seeming to appreciate the implications. Masson, as literal as Bentley, used the lines in constructing his diagram of the illimitable spaces of *Paradise Lost*; and Masson's diagram, having displaced Milton's picture in the minds of readers, has served to emphasize Bentley's objection. Masson says, 'As to the proportion of this World to some part of the total map Milton dares to be exact. The distance from its nadir or lowest point to the upper boss of Hell is exactly equal to its own radius; or, in other words, the distance of Hell-gate from Heaven-gate is exactly three semidiameters of the Human or Starry Universe' (*Milton's Poetical Works*, ii, 84). This indeed is an exact description only of Masson's accompanying diagram, yet it states unequivocally the generally accepted interpretation of Milton's words. How much too little room it allows the poet in the unfolding of his story is brought out by Raleigh (*Milton*, p. 111). When Satan has completed his long and perilous journey through Chaos he sees

Far off th' Empyrean Heav'n . . .
And fast by hanging in a golden chain
This pendent World, in bigness as a star
Of smallest magnitude close by the Moon.

If this pendent world reaches two-thirds of the way from Heaven to Hell, 'it is not easy to conceive', as Raleigh remarks, 'how, in the limited space between Heaven and Hell, the World could so appear to Satan'.

In the face of this imaginative discrepancy it is not enough to say with Raleigh that 'in his statements with regard to spatial relations the poet was not always minutely consistent with himself'; we must conclude that he just did not imagine his spaces. Assuming the contrary (as surely we must),

what better poetic sense can be found for the lines in question? Homer and Virgil, in those passages always quoted as sources, give the clue. Homer places Tartarus 'as far beneath Hades as the sky is from earth':

'τόσσον ἔνερθ' Ἀΐδew ὅσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης.'
(*Iliad*, viii, 16.)

Hades is the sunless abode of the dead in the nether regions of the earth; Tartarus is the dungeon into which the rebellious Titans were cast by Zeus and so corresponds to Milton's Hell. Virgil elaborates Homer's line and places Tartarus at twice the distance:

Tum Tartarus ipse
Bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras
Quantum ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.
(*Aeneid*, vi, 577-9.)

Milton, following Homer and Virgil, says thrice as far. With his different cosmology, his global universe, he must go beyond Homer; but 'thrice' is of course an intensive, or rather indefinitely extensive, not a computative expression; nine or any other larger mystic number would be no more adequate if taken literally, would still not give room and verge enough. The poet is not measuring off the distance but saying that it is immeasurable. Like Homer he chooses to do this in an imaginative manner, that is by an appeal to human experience—'incomparably farther than the utmost reach of human vision'; his only alternative was to do it in a prosaic manner, as Bentley does when he rewrites Milton's second line, 'Distance, which to express all Measure fails'. Milton's simile (for that in effect is what we have) involves a momentary shift of the point of view from Hell to earth; the confusing effect of this could have been resolved, as at other places, by developing the comparison, but this was no place for an extended simile. He trusted his readers, fit though few, to perceive the classical allusion and to interpret aright his use of a pagan symbol, in accordance with his ordinary practice, for 'God and light of Heaven'.

The misreading of these two lines arises from the fact that we come to *Paradise Lost* with a map of Milton's spaces already in our minds. If we read under the poet's guidance, suspending our knowledge of what is to come, we see that these early lines of the poem cannot be meant to describe the relative positions of Heaven, Hell and the World. Milton is a skilled narrator who builds up his scene in the course of the story; this World does not come into the picture until the end of the second book, and Milton knew better than to spoil the epic of Satan's adventure by anticipating his discovery. It may be noted that at this later point he has to use the same human measuring rod as previously, comparing this World as Satan sees it beneath Heaven to a star beside the moon. Critics accept the device in the one case: why not in the other? Great poetical benefits would

follow. We could once again enjoy the description of Satan's first sight of the World, not as a pretty incidental image but as a real climax to this wonderful tale. And the Chaos through which he has fought his way would be 'no narrow frith' (one semidiameter of the Human or Starry Universe) but Chaos again:

a dark
Illimitable Ocean without bound,
Without dimension, where length, breadth, & highth,
And time and place are lost.

It is time to rid our minds of Masson's diagram: Milton's spaces are infinitely better.

B. A. WRIGHT.

'MUING HER MIGHTY YOUTH'—A DEFENCE

It has more than once been suggested that on a strict interpretation the sentence in Milton's *Areopagitica*, 'Methinks I see her as an Eagle muing her mighty youth', has no satisfactory meaning, since 'to mew' or 'mue' is to moult and therefore to speak of the Eagle muing its youth at least comes near to reversing the sense intended. The latest exponent of this view is Mr. G. Udny Yule, who in *R.E.S.*, XIX, 1943, pp. 61-6, ably contends that 'muing' is a misprint for 'renuing'. Mr. R. S. Loomis in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 437-8, had proposed 'newing'; but Mr. Yule, who has considered the passage in *Areopagitica* with reference to analogous passages in the Bible, supports his own emendation by supposing, quite reasonably, that Milton was influenced by the sentence which in the Geneva (1560) version of Psalm 103, 5, reads 'and thy youth is renewed like the eagles'; and thinks it incredible that Milton, knowing the sentence in this or in a similar version, should 'have removed from the words of scripture the verb that the sense requires, to replace it by—of all things—a sporting term that does *not* make sense'.

Apart from the questionable use of the term 'sporting' in this connexion ('mew' was current otherwise), the argument might be quite sound if poets were always content with the plain and unambiguous senses of the words they employ, if they were never arbitrary and unconventional in their phrasing, and if Milton, in particular, had not been much disposed to respect his own inspiration more than the dictates of simple logic and common usage. But we know that he was so disposed and the knowledge is specially relevant to an occasion like the writing of *Areopagitica*, wherein, as one of his editors says, 'his thoughts rush upon him in a throng that he can at times scarcely order and control. His utterance is almost choked'. Illustrations are not hard to find.

First, however, it is worth noting that in the idea of mewing or moulting

the idea of renewal is more or less implicit, at least that the thought of moulted feathers or fur can easily be connected with that of oncoming growth or of renewed strength. Thus *O.E.D.*, art. *moult*, *v.*, cites Lyly's *Endymion*, V. iii. 190: 'Mee thinkes I feele my ioyntes stronge, and these mouldy haire to molt'; and a similar association of ideas is made in the Douai Bible comment (1610) on Psalm 102 (103), cited by Mr. Yule as another thing that Milton may have had in mind: 'an Eagle euerie tenne yeares washeth herselfe in the sea as in a bath, & then flying very hiegh burneth her fethers in the elemental fire, & new fethers growing she becometh fresh, as in her first youth'. It would therefore be rather unsafe to deny that in any use of the terms *moult* or *mew* something more than the simple sense of shedding may be present; and this consideration lends force to the conjecture in *O.E.D.* about Milton's use of 'mu'ing' here, that it means 'perhaps to renew by the process of moulting'.

We may come next to the bibliographical part of the argument. Mr. Yule is a little daunted by finding, from Bradshaw's *Concordance*, that the spelling 'renue' is not represented in all the twenty-five occurrences of *renew*, *renews*, etc., in Milton's poems. He points out, however, that 'profet' and 'profets' can be found in *Tetrachordon* although not in any of the twenty-four occurrences of *prophet(s)* and *prophetic* in the poems. Such variant spellings are, of course, not necessarily attributable to the author, but nevertheless it is arguable that by way of exception Milton may have written 'renuing' (perhaps catching this form from the Geneva version of 1560) and indeed it is essential to Mr. Yule's case to suppose that this is what happened, as otherwise the compositor could not have altered the word to 'mu'ing'. But was the compositor likely to do this? He would then be replacing the more by the less familiar word, whereas the reverse is a commoner source of textual corruption. Moreover the printer and his press-reader would be chargeable with a carelessness not otherwise conspicuous in the original edition.

The word may now be considered in its more literary aspects. Mr. Yule quotes the passage from 'Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant Nation' down to 'purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain it self of heav'nly radiance', emphasizing the biblical allusions it seems to make and thus hoping to support his opinion that Milton was likely to be influenced by (and not to alter essentially) the sentence in Psalm 103, 5, cited above. But even if we could grant that 'mu'ing' is suspicious on other grounds it would still have to be allowed that the notion of moulting is by no means out of keeping with what has gone before, for if we look three or four lines back we find that England has just been described as 'casting off the old and wrincl'd skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again'. Surely it is no far cry from the snake casting its winter weeds

outworn to the Eagle shedding its feathers with similar renovative effect. But where are the feathers? What is said is 'muing its youth', not 'muing its plumage'.

This brings us back to certain peculiarities of Milton's style, in both prose and verse. Particular reference has already been made to his enthusiastic and headlong procedure in *Areopagitica*, and it is easy to believe him when he says at the outset that circumstances have 'got the power within me to a passion'. Perhaps this passion is responsible for the anacolouthon in his first sentence ('They who . . . I suppose them') and for a few other things like 'By which laws he seems to tolerat no kind of learning, but by unalterable decree, consisting most of practicall traditions, to the attainment whereof a Library of smaller bulk then his own dialogues would be abundant'. We know also that Milton was capable of daringly compressed and pregnant phraseology like 'Blind mouths' and 'the hand Sung with the voice'. Is it then too much to suppose that at the height of his argument and with thoughts that 'rush upon him in a throng' he might telescope the notion of mewing her feathers and thus renewing her mighty youth into 'muing her mighty youth'?

One further point is that if we read 'renuing' we sacrifice a telling use of alliteration and at least do no good to the rhythm.

It is quite possible that Milton, reviewing the phrase in colder blood, might have wished to improve it as he often tried to improve upon his first thoughts, not always with conspicuous success. But a Miltonic revision is one thing and a conjectural emendation another, and it is over-bold to assume that when Milton seems to be irrational or clumsy or over-concise either he or his printer is at fault. To make that assumption is to disregard the realities, i.e. the complexities, of poetic invention, in which the mind 'dissolves, diffuses, dissipates in order to re-create'. L. C. MARTIN.

JOHN RICH AND THE HOLIDAY SEASONS OF 1732-3

The activities of John Rich during the Christmas and Easter seasons of 1732-3 have led to considerable confusion among historians of the eighteenth-century London theatre.¹ In order to clear up some of the con-

¹ Genest, whose account forms the basis of other more recent conjectures, complains that the story in the British Museum manuscript he is following 'is not quite so clearly expressed as might be wished—it appears however certain that both theatres were open in the Christmas Holidays for some few nights'. (III, 390.) However, in the next two entries, for 26 December and 1 January, he confuses his readers by suggesting that *Tunbridge Walks* and *The Unhappy Favourite* were performed at Covent Garden, thus forcing Wyndham, *Annals of Covent Garden Theatre* (London, 1906), I, 31, to suppose that *The Beggar's Opera* was 'transferred to Lincoln's Inn Fields, Rich's old house, probably with a new cast'. Wyndham clearly supposes the transfer to have been made *after* the run of *The Beggar's Opera*, but Genest is hardly responsible for this additional error. W. E. Schultz, *Gay's Beggar's Opera* (New Haven, 1923), p. 50, follows Genest and Wyndham into the same errors. (See below, p. 47, n. 2.)

fusion and to call attention to certain facts hitherto insufficiently noted, the following account attempts to present Rich's activities during those two holiday periods as briefly and clearly as the somewhat complex circumstances permit.

On 7 December, Rich had moved his company from Lincoln's Inn Fields to Covent Garden.¹ Having opened the career of the new theatre with *The Way of the World*, he continued for a little more than a week with stock plays until 16 December.² On this date he began a run of twenty nights of *The Beggar's Opera*, which remained on the boards at Covent Garden until 10 January, after which it was replaced by a series of older pieces.

This highly successful run of *The Beggar's Opera* afforded Rich an opportunity to try a novel experiment. Having in his charge a large troupe of actors and dancers³ and two modern theatres, he decided to use all of his forces in competing for the holiday custom. On 23 December, he advertised⁴ a performance of *Tunbridge Walks*, to be followed by *Harlequin Doctor Faustus*, for Tuesday, 26 December, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Parts in the advertised cast were assigned much in the manner they had been at the last performance of these pieces before the company had moved.⁵ Such casting, however, left some great, if not insuperable, difficulties if Rich hoped to begin performances at both houses on time and run them off smoothly. At least three players⁶ in the main pieces were

¹ Wyndham sets the opening of Covent Garden on 6 December, but all the evidence is against him.

² Wyndham again misreads Genest, stating that 'The second piece produced was *The Beggar's Opera* . . .'. Genest accounts for the first nights at Covent Garden, 7-9 December, by saying that *The Way of the World* opened on 7 December and 'was acted 3 nights successively'. Then he gives *The Fair Quaker of Deal* for 14 December, an entry supported by the *Daily Advertiser* and Nicoll, *A History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama, 1700-1750* (Cambridge, 1929). This leaves 11, 12, 13, and 15 December unaccounted for. The plays on these nights, according to the *Daily Advertiser*, were *The Orphan*, *Rule a Wife, King Lear*, and *The Rover*. Schultz (*loc. cit.*) doubles Wyndham's errors with this curious statement: '*The Beggar's Opera* was not the first piece produced, but it was the second, appearing on December 7, three days after Gay's death. Ryan, overlooking the first performance, says Miss Norsa (he has Noram) appeared in Polly as early as the ninth night at the new theatre, which would be December 16. This agrees with the date of Genest for Miss Norsa's first appearance, for he puts her run of twenty consecutive nights between December 16 and January 11. Wyndham records her participation in the first *Beggar's Opera* performance at Covent Garden, on December 7, with a subsequent run of twenty nights, after which a transfer was made to Lincoln's Inn Fields, perhaps with a new cast'. Obviously this account is confused and inaccurate. Similar errors, or misleading accounts, may be found in H. B. Baker, *History of the London Stage* (1904), p. 114, and in the D.N.B. entry under John Rich.

³ A check of the newspaper bills for this season reveals that Rich had more than sixty-five actors and dancers in his employment.

⁴ All the advertisements cited in this account are from the *Daily Advertiser*.

⁵ Chapman's name replaced that of Pinkethman, who had gone to Goodman's Fields on 18 December (Genest). Neale was substituted for the part of Loveworth, which had been played by Walker in November; however, Neale was also listed for Maiden, which he had played the month before.

⁶ At Covent Garden, Chapman was down for the *Beggar*, with Milward as the Player (both parts in the Induction to Gay's piece), and Mrs. Forrester as Jenny Diver. At Lincoln's Inn Fields the trio were scheduled for Squib, Reynard, and Penelope.

down in the casts for both theatres—and the two playhouses were upwards of half a mile apart.¹ Nor did the manager's problems end there; the entertainments at both theatres were to be accounted for. The newspaper advertisements of 23 December include casts for two entr'actes at Covent Garden and the pantomime at Lincoln's Inn Fields. In these, two additional actors² are named in both bills.

By Monday, Christmas Day, Rich had had time to think out his plans a little more carefully and do some recasting. The three actors originally scheduled to play in both main pieces were replaced by others³ in the newspaper bills on Monday; the two who had to double in the entertainments were apparently left to shift for themselves.

The experiment of 26 December was followed immediately by another. On Wednesday, 27 December, *The Beggar's Opera* was again billed for Covent Garden, with one shift in the cast.⁴ At Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Venice Preserv'd* (which required over twenty players) was the main piece, to be followed by *Apollo and Daphne* (which required, according to the bill in the *Daily Advertiser*, a total of twenty-one performers). These two bills must have taxed Rich's resources to the utmost. On this night, seven actors⁵ were forced to appear at both theatres. How some of these performers could manage to do what the bills required of them must remain a mystery. That the going was not altogether smooth is suggested by some shifts in the casting of *Apollo and Daphne* the following night.

On Thursday, 28 December, a third doubling-up was called for. *The Beggar's Opera* was, of course, still down for Covent Garden, with the same cast as for the previous night. Over at Lincoln's Inn Fields the main piece was *The Recruiting Officer*; the afterpiece remained the same, *Apollo and Daphne*. Again, two actors⁶ were asked to do the apparently impossible

¹ According to the scale of John Rocque's *London in 1741-45*.

² At Covent Garden Hippisley was to act Peachum, and Mrs. Ogden was to dance in the entr'acte after Act II. At Lincoln's Inn Fields these two were down for parts in the afterpiece.

³ Ray and Paget replaced Chapman and Milward in *The Beggar's Opera*; Miss Binks replaced Mrs. Forrester.

⁴ Chapman was put back into the part of the Beggar.

⁵ Hippisley, Salway, Newhouse, Mrs. Forrester, Mrs. Kilby, and Mrs. Ogden may have been able to perform at Covent Garden and still take the parts assigned them in the afterpiece at the other house, but just how Chapman was able to play the Beggar in Gay's play and still act Renault (in either case he would have to appear very early and very late in the play) in *Venice Preserv'd* is not easy to explain.

⁶ Chapman again had a part in the play at Lincoln's Inn Fields in addition to his role in *The Beggar's Opera*; Hippisley was still billed for Peachum and, moreover, in *The Recruiting Officer* was to play a 'Welsh Collier', a very small part, to be sure, but one with which Hippisley had evidently become intimately associated in the minds of theatre-goers. It will be noted that Farquhar's collier had become a Welsh Collier. The change is due entirely to Hippisley, himself a Welshman and the author of a farce he had brought along from Wales and recently produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields, *A Journey to Bristol; or, The Honest Welch-man*. In his own play Hippisley had acted David Shenkin, speaking a Welsh dialect and singing a Welsh song. It is easy to see how he might have transformed the collier in *The Recruiting Officer* into a Welshman. The fact that the scene of Farquhar's

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job of performing in both main pieces, though some relief was provided for persons who had doubled in the entertainments on Wednesday.¹

On Friday and Saturday nights Rich gave his overworked troupe a little rest by discontinuing the performances at the old house, but on Monday, 1 January, he made one more attempt. The bill at Lincoln's Inn Fields for this night listed *The Unhappy Favourite* with *The Rape of Proserpine*. The newspaper gives only a brief cast for Banks' tragedy, but this is enough to indicate Rich's difficulty, a problem which drew Genest's attention but for which his solution is scarcely adequate.² At least six, possibly seven, actors again were called upon to appear at both theatres.³

How successful was Rich's venture in operating two theatres simultaneously we are unable to state; but the experiment cannot have been altogether a failure, for he tried it again the same season. With a view to attracting another large holiday crowd, he laid plans for performances at both his theatres on Easter Monday, 26 March. In an advertisement appearing in the *Daily Advertiser* on 22 March, he announced *The Beggar's Opera* for Covent Garden the following Monday and *A Duke and No Duke* with *Perseus and Andromeda* for Lincoln's Inn Fields the same night. For one reason or another,⁴ he had changed his mind by Saturday, 24 March, when he announced *Tunbridge Walks* as the main piece at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Again the bills call for seven or eight persons,⁵ at the very least, to perform in both theatres, one or two of them having to play three parts in the evening's productions.

comedy is laid at Shrewsbury would make the change plausible. It may be noted here that neither the alteration of Farquhar's play nor Hippisley's own piece is mentioned by J. O. Bartley, 'The Development of a Stock Character: II. The Stage Scotsman; III. The Stage Welshman (to 1800)', *Modern Language Review*, XXXVIII (1943); 279-288.

¹ Mrs. Pelling relinquished two of the three parts she had played on the previous night to Mrs. Laguerre. Miss La Tour yielded one of her two roles to Miss Baston.

² As stated above, Genest places this performance of *The Unhappy Favourite* at Covent Garden; he then tries to explain the substitution of Chapman for Walker in the part of Southampton by pointing out that Walker was 'acting Macheath at the other theatre'. This explanation overlooks the fact that Chapman also had a part in *The Beggar's Opera*.

³ In addition to Chapman, those with parts in both bills were Hippisley, Salway, Newhouse, Mrs. Kilby, Mrs. Ogden, and probably Smith, who usually played Wat Dreary.

⁴ He may have found it difficult to cast Tate's farce satisfactorily, for both Hippisley and Chapman had parts—the Puritan and Trappolin respectively—in that play on previous productions, but they were required in *The Beggar's Opera*. Of course the substitution of *Tunbridge Walks* for Tate's piece left Chapman with a double assignment, but perhaps Rich felt that he would at least be on more familiar ground since he had already produced that piece in conjunction with *The Beggar's Opera*.

⁵ Chapman was to play the Beggar at Covent Garden and Squib at Lincoln's Inn Fields, an apparently impossible feat. Miss Binks had as difficult an assignment: Lucy Lockit at the new house and Penelope at the old; Mrs. Eggleton, the original Lucy, was still with the company (this being her last season) and should have performed the role. In addition, Hippisley, Hall, Salway, Newhouse, Smith, and Mrs. Ogden must have been asked to double. If Ray actually substituted for Chapman, as he did during the Christmas season, he had to appear at both houses. Hall is listed to play Loveworth at Lincoln's Inn Fields, but this is certainly a misprint for Hale, whose part it was; Hall was acting Lockit at Covent Garden.

Even greater demands were made upon the troupe for the following night, Tuesday, 27 March. The bill for Lincoln's Inn Fields remained the same as for Monday.¹ At Covent Garden Kelly's *Married Philosopher* was to be revived in a benefit performance for Nivelon. As befitting a dancer's benefit, the bill was filled with entr'actes of various dances and entertainments, with 'a Grand Dance of Momus, concluding with the *Black Joke*, between Mr. Nivelon and Mrs. Laguerre' to round out the evening. At least five actors in the main piece and ten in the entertainments were required to perform at both houses.² Just how Rich managed to handle his productions in the face of such obvious difficulties is by no means clear. The fact that most of the entertainments at Covent Garden were entr'actes, presumably concluded before the afterpiece commenced at the other house, helps account for some, though by no means all, of the problems. He may have resorted to beginning his plays at different times or timing them in such a way as to end at different points, but the advertisements give us no clue.³

Since there is no record of this performance of *The Married Philosopher* in either Nicoll or Genest, one might consider that Rich had abandoned the notion of giving that play; however, the *Daily Advertiser* lends considerable evidence on this point. It seems that as soon as the bills announcing the production appeared, Kelly protested to Rich,⁴ arguing that he and not the dancer should receive the benefits from a performance of his play.⁵ Whereupon Nivelon immediately inserted a lengthy notice in the *Daily Advertiser*, 26 March, protesting against Kelly's efforts to hinder the production. In addition, the absence of any notice concerning postponement or abandonment of the projected benefit and the absence of any notices to the effect that 'Tickets for the intended benefit of Mr. Nivelon will be taken for, etc.', which occur frequently in the case of postponed benefits, all point to actual performance as scheduled.

At any rate, this venture in double productions seems to have satisfied the curiosity, or exhausted the ingenuity, of John Rich, for he did not

¹ *Tunbridge Walks* and *Perseus and Andromeda*.

² No cast is given in the *Daily Advertiser* for Baker's comedy, perhaps because Rich had not worked out his difficulties by the time the bill went to press; but of the persons who had been acting in that piece, Milward, Chapman, Mrs. Younger, and Mrs. Stevens were down for parts in *The Married Philosopher*. Nivelon, De-la Garde, Poictier, Newhouse, Pelling, Mrs. Laguerre, Mrs. Pelling, Mrs. Ogden, Mrs. Younger, and Miss La Tour had to perform in the entertainments at both houses, several of them having three parts listed in the bills.

³ Whenever the time is stated in any of the above-mentioned bills, as it frequently is, it is always 6:00. The usual performance ran about three hours.

⁴ We have not seen a copy of Kelly's protest, but have depended upon Nivelon's account of it in his letter in the *Daily Advertiser*.

⁵ Kelly's *drame* was a new play of the previous season at Lincoln's Inn Fields. According to Nicoll and the bills in the *Daily Advertiser*, it was acted *five* times, which meant that Kelly did not quite manage a second benefit. At any rate, Kelly took his next new play, *Timon in Love* (5 December, 1733) to Drury Lane, instead of to Rich.

make the attempt again, except for one last time on 28 April, when he produced Gay's *Achilles* at Covent Garden and the bill originally planned but later abandoned at Easter time at Lincoln's Inn Fields, *A Duke and No Duke* and *Perseus and Andromeda*.¹

So much for the narrative of Rich's activities during the holidays of the 1732-3 season. What conclusions may be drawn from, or significance noted in, these activities? The answer to this question may be grouped under two general headings, the one applying to Rich's career in particular, the other to contemporary theatrical activities in general.

John Rich has earned a considerable notoriety as an early actor-manager who contributed more than his share to the debasement of the English theatre. In addition to the theatre and the royal patent which he received from his father, he seems to have inherited a fondness for claptrap and an attitude of looking upon the theatre as merely a commercial enterprise. The literature of his day is filled with satirical thrusts at Rich's debased 'entertainments', Rich's ignorance, Rich's unscrupulous dealings with authors and actors. The above account will serve to clear up one more formerly obscure item in the history of his commercialization of the stage of his time.

More significant, however, is the meaning of these activities in the history of the theatre in general. Taken alone, these double billings do not necessarily have great significance, nor is it our intention here to over-stress their importance. But when they are restored to their general context in the dramatic activities of the entire city in this period they seem to us to lend weight to a general tendency. It must be recalled that during the brief holiday seasons here covered there were, on several occasions, four and five houses open.² On 27 March, 1733, Londoners would seem to have had the choice of six different dramatic or operatic productions.³ Of course, the periods accounted for are brief and transient, but the account does emphasize a trend. A survey of the four seasons immediately preceding the Licensing Act reveals that the three companies constantly active during this time averaged 176 nights apiece each season, that during the height of the season (January-May) the Little Haymarket kept up a fairly steady

¹ As the *Daily Advertiser* for this date is missing from the Library of Congress file, we have been unable to study the details of this double billing.

² On each of the six nights accounted for here the records show that Drury Lane and Goodman's Fields were offering regular bills; in addition, on three of these nights either or both of the Haymarket theatres were running.

³ The *Daily Advertiser* provides us with bills for only four theatres, omitting the two theatres in the Haymarket. Nicoll's handlist adds performances at both Haymarket theatres. The absence of bills or notices from the *Daily Advertiser* is, however, by no means conclusive, for a news item appearing in that paper on the following day helps account for the performance at the opera house:

'Yesterday, their Majesties, together with his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and the Princesses, were again at the King's Theatre in the Haymarket, to see Deborah, the New Oratorio in English at which was likewise present one of the most numerous Audiences of Nobility and Persons of Distinction that has been ever seen in any theatre.'

run, and that there were scattered productions (usually operatic) at Lincoln's Inn Fields up to the time the Goodman's Fields troupe took that theatre over in 1736. In addition, the King's Theatre in the Haymarket was keeping up a fairly steady run on Tuesdays and Saturdays during the operatic season.

Everything in the above account points to this fact: that there were more potential customers of the theatre in London at this time than there had been for several generations, at least. Here, less than five years before the Licensing Act was to reduce the theatres to two and to restrict severely the freedom of a rapidly growing enterprise, were more theatres in operation than there had been for over a century or than there would be for more than a half-century to come.

LEO HUGHES.

A. H. SCOUTEN.

THE TEMPEST AND ROBINSON CRUSOE

I

It has been suggested by Rudyard Kipling that a drunken sailor's rambling narrative of shipwreck on Bermuda might have provided Shakespeare with ideas for *The Tempest*.¹

I wish to reverse the process, and to suggest that Shakespeare's play became long afterwards the source for an elaborate episode in the most famous story of a sailor shipwrecked on an American island. No relationship between the two greatest of English stories of far-away islands has ever been pointed out, but the evidence is to be found in the printed texts of *The Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe*.

II

One would expect the total impression of *The Tempest*, 'the most lyrical of the plays and therefore perhaps the nearest its author',² to be quite unlike that of a prose narrative which (for all its imaginative power) is an authentic companion piece to *The Complete English Tradesman*. It is characteristic of both *The Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe* that the heroes prepare for their return to civilized dress in such different language:

Fetch me the hat and rapier in my cell.
I will discase me, and myself present
As I was sometime Milan :3

... he brought me six clean new shirts, six very good neckcloths, two pair of gloves, one pair of shoes, a hat, and one pair of stockings, and a very good suit of clothes of his own, which had been worn but very little.⁴

¹ Rudyard Kipling, 'A Vision of the Enchanted Island' (*A Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, Oxford, 1916, pp. 200-3).

² Walter de la Mare, *Desert Islands and 'Robinson Crusoe'* (New York, 1930), p. 185.

³ *The Tempest* (Cambridge ed.), V, i, 84-6.

⁴ *Robinson Crusoe* (Tegg ed.), Vol. I, p. 328.

If one is impressed solely by the extraordinary difference in feeling, one should recall the fourteen dissimilar treatments of 'Mr. Fothergill's Plot'.¹ My contention is not that *The Tempest* and *Robinson Crusoe* are apparently alike, but that many details of the plots are identical.

III

It has often been assumed that Defoe's knowledge of English literature was largely confined to the Restoration period and to his immediate contemporaries. It has been stated roundly that 'In all his works, Defoe makes no mention of any authors between Chaucer and Withers, except Shakespeare and Jonson'.² It would lead us too far afield to discuss this in any detail, but one recalls rather easily the evidences for Defoe's familiarity with many of the Elizabethan and Jacobean prose writers—with Camden and Foxe and Knolles and Bacon, above all with Raleigh.

For his knowledge of Shakespeare, if one remains unimpressed by G. A. Aitken's assignment of the editions of Pope and Theobald to Defoe's library,³ or by the rather conventional references in the *Tour*⁴ and in *Captain Carleton*⁵ to Shakespeare's tomb and to the witches in *Macbeth*, there remains a considerable body of more significant evidence. It is true that the quotation of Iago's speech to illustrate the importance of a good name to a tradesman was added to *The Complete English Tradesman*⁶ after Defoe's death, but we find in his own writings allusions to a good many of the plays, e.g.:

HAMLET

The Political History of the Devil (Tegg ed.), p. 34:

always we
Might end by death all human misery,
Might have it in our choice, to be, or not to be.

Ibid., p. 73:

. . . so Satan and his innumerable legions rove about, *hic et ubique* . . .

History of the Plague (Tegg ed.), p. 27:

. . . then the ghost would seem to start, and, as if he were called away,
disappeared on a sudden.

MACBETH

Review, Vol. VIII, p. 242:

When Men go Distracted . . . draw bloody Daggers, and then start at
them . . .

THE MERCHANT OF VENICE (Portia's Mercy Speech)

Review, Vol. I, p. 290:

How Bless'd! how Wise! how in all things, Ages and Circumstances, Benefi-
cial both to Prince and People, is the Sublime Quality of *Moderation*? 'Tis

¹ Cf. *Fourteen Stories from One Plot*, ed. J. M. Berdan (New York, 1932).

² E. R. Wasserman, 'Origin of the Elizabethan Revival', *E.L.H.*, Vol. IV, p. 214, n. 7.

³ 'Defoe's Library', *Athenæum*, 1 June 1895, p. 707.

⁴ G. D. H. Cole ed., Vol. II, p. 441.

⁵ Tegg ed., p. 27.

⁶ Tegg ed., Vol. I, p. 156.

born of Heaven; 'tis the Father and Fountain of Human Prudence; 'tis the Character of Wise Men; the Healer of National, and all Personal Breaches; the Saver of Nations; the Restorer of Peace; the Preserver of Justice. 'Tis the Essence of all manner of Politicks; 'tis the *Beauty* of Princes, the *Wisdom* of Statesmen; the Happiness of Subjects; the Safety of Families: 'Tis the Honour of the Man, the Distinction of the Gentleman, and the Glory of the Christian; 'tis the Pledge of Divine Favour, and the best Temporal Blessing of the World.

AS YOU LIKE IT

Review, Vol. IV, p. 320:

. . . the World is a Stage of Life, where we come up in our turn, act our Part, and move off to let the same Follies be acted over again by our Posterity—

OTHELLO

When Defoe presented a scene of romantic love-making, he was likely to pattern it after Othello's wooing of Desdemona—especially in *Robert Drury's Journal*, where the very young princess who solicits Drury's narrative is of a different race and colour from the hero:

The Life of Mr. Duncan Campbell (Tegg ed.), p. 15:

. . . compassion is the best introducer of love into a generous bosom, and that was the best stock I had to go upon in my courtship; I told her of my calamities, my dangers, and my escapes; . . . and still she would ask me to tell it her over again, though every time I told it, just at such and such passages, she was forced to drop the tears from her eyes.

Ibid., p. 183:

Here Mr. Campbell related the whole story of his travels to her, and the crosses and disappointments he had met with abroad. The tears, he observed, would start every now and then into her eyes when she came to any doleful passage, and she appeared to have a mighty compassionate kind of feeling, when she read of any hardship more than ordinarily melancholy that had befallen him.

Robert Drury's Journal (Oliver ed.), p. 61:

. . . when she asked . . . of our misfortunes, she showed a great deal of concern and pity . . . She was wondrous courteous and obliging, and often sighed with pity at the sense she seemed to have of our miserable condition.

That Defoe knew the Davenant-Dryden version of *The Tempest* is clear from a passage in the *Review* (III, 518), with its marginal note citing '*The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island*':

. . . like the Youth and the Lady in the Play, who are mutually possess'd by the Father. She, that the Man was a strange Beast of Prey, that would eat her, and therefore she was to flie the very Sight.—And then He, that the thing call'd a Woman, was a Sort of Serpent, that poisoned by the Sight, and would kill him at a Distance, and so prepar'd them to shun one another at the extremest Rate, and with the utmost Dread and Horror of one another—When alas, on their venturing to look at one another, when the Fright was over, and she found the Man did not eat her; and he, that the Woman did not poison him at Sight, they soon undeceiv'd one another, found they were

impos'd upon, and that nothing was more pleasant than Society and Love one to another.

Defoe's knowledge of Shakespeare's own play is evident from the plot of *Robinson Crusoe*.

IV

In *The Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* one rather long passage¹ stands apart for its higher degree of fantasy, its breathless sense of working against time and the strength of numbers, and its total independence of any known source. Defoe was in danger of anticlimax, and was in real difficulty about how to get Crusoe off the island. Escape by a small boat had been considered at great length, but definitely rejected. Rejected likewise must have been the all-too-familiar method by which Alexander Selkirk had been rescued, when two friendly ships sailed into the harbour and took the exile on board one of them as a mate.

For a more 'strange surprising' way of getting Crusoe 'strangely deliver'd', as the title-page promised, Defoe found his suggestions ready to hand in the one Shakespearean play which was adapted to his purpose. The similarity between this passage and the analogous parts of *The Tempest* can be indicated by an outline which is *literally and equally true of either plot*:

For many years an elderly man has lived on a desert island, far from his native country. He has mastered the hostile environment and has become a sort of governor of the island. He lives in a cave,² fronted by a grove, and he is attended by a faithful servant whose devotion he has won by releasing him from captivity. This servant travels with amazing fleetness to do his master's bidding. From the shore the governor sees a ship from his native country approaching with hostile men on board. Some of the crew remain on board, but the rest of the ship's company land on the island in different places, each group uncertain about the fate of the others. Some of the strangers go about to seek their comrades or to look at the country.

In the principal group some of the men conspire to kill their leader and his loyal attendants. Others of the ship's company are led astray by the governor's servant. Two of the worst of the visitors are held as prisoners apart from the rest of the company.

Sudden sleep falls on most of the visitors, from time to time, so that the governor is able to separate them and deal with them in detachments. The voice of the governor's servant leads some of the visitors astray in the wilds. Most of the time the governor remains invisible, while he directs the over-

¹ *Robinson Crusoe* (Tegg ed.), Vol. I, pp. 298-332.

² Following Theobald, most modern stage directions refer to Prospero's cell. Caliban speaks of 'the mouth o' th' cell' (IV, i, 218), which implies something like a cave. The Davenant-Dryden version is explicit for a cave, as are Pope's stage directions. Professor J. Dover Wilson is surely in line with the older stage tradition when he specifies 'the entrance of a tall cave, curtained'. If Defoe saw the play acted (as he saw more plays than has been generally recognized), he would have observed a cave in the central background.

throw of the enemy. These strange happenings mystify the visitors; they consider the island enchanted, and they refer to it as inhabited by devils.¹

The governor restores order among the ship's company. He puts off his strange costume, dresses in European clothes, and gives up the powers which he has acquired on the island. He plans to go aboard the ship with most of the other characters, and to return, as a passenger, to his native country and later to his native city.

Many features of the two stories are less similar: Crusoe tells the ship's captain the story of his life soon after their meeting, but Prospero is to tell his story on the night before his departure from the island. In *Robinson Crusoe* the mutiny began on board ship, not on the island. The Ferdinand-Miranda episode has, of course, no place in Defoe's story.

But the strange bond of similarity between the two stories is transmitted to one of the literary offspring of *Robinson Crusoe*. In *Treasure Island*, when Ben Gunn attempts to mislead the pirates by singing from above like a disembodied spirit, he becomes recognizably akin to Ariel:

All of a sudden, out of the middle of the trees in front of us, a thin, high, trembling voice struck up the well-known air and words: . . . Coming so far through the clear, sunny atmosphere among the green tree-tops, I thought it had sounded airily and sweetly; and the effect on my companions was the stranger.²

Crusoe asserted that the coming of the English ship and all that resulted from it was 'a strange and unforeseen accident . . . of which the like has not, perhaps, been heard of in history'.³ Almost so, but not quite—unless one holds that Crusoe excluded *The Tempest* when he spoke of history.

JOHN ROBERT MOORE.

'OLD MR. LEWIS'

Johnson questions, in his *Life of Swift*,⁴ whether *The History of the Four Last Years of the Queen*, published in 1758, was the work which Swift 'is said to have written'. 'It seemed', Johnson writes, 'by no means to correspond with the notions that I had formed of it, from a conversation which I once heard between the Earl of Orrery and old Mr. Lewis'. We do not know the tenor of the conversation to which Johnson listened, but we do know that he was mistaken in the conclusion he drew from it. The published work *was* written by Swift.⁵

But who was the 'old Mr. Lewis' with whom Lord Orrery conversed in Johnson's hearing? In his edition of the *Lives of the Poets* Birkbeck Hill has a cautionary note, 'not Erasmus Lewis'. The reader would naturally

¹ E.g., *Robinson Crusoe* (Vol. I, p. 318): ' . . . telling one another they were gotten into an enchanted island; . . . or else there were devils or spirits in it . . . '

² *Treasure Island* (Thistle ed.), p. 245.

³ *Robinson Crusoe*, Vol. I, p. 298.

⁴ *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Birkbeck Hill, Vol. III, pp. 27-8.

⁵ See 'Jonathan Swift and the *Four Last Years of the Queen*', Harold Williams, *The Library*, Vol. XVI, pp. 61-90.

believe Orrery's interlocutor to have been the Erasmus Lewis (1670-1754) who served in several political offices during the reign of Queen Anne, who was, further, Swift's close friend. The description 'old' would also have been fitting at any time Johnson was likely to have met him. Why then did Hill think it necessary to warn the reader against Erasmus Lewis? The answer is, presumably, that thinking Johnson referred to a conversation which took place after the publication of the *History* in 1758, he remembered that Erasmus Lewis died in 1754. But surely Johnson was calling to mind a conversation which antedated publication? His words are, as he thought of the printed book, 'it seemed by no means to correspond with the notions that I *had* formed of it'.

Erasmus Lewis, Swift's friend for over thirty years, was acquainted with the original manuscript of the *History*, and also with a fair copy made at a later date. Swift finished his treatise in May 1713, and soon after, setting out for Ireland to be installed Dean of St. Patrick's, he left the manuscript with Lewis for safe keeping.¹ The work was not approved by Swift's friends, and for years he laid it aside, save for an occasional glance or touch of revision, until in 1736 he reached a determination to publish. In 1737 Lord Orrery carried over to England a manuscript prepared for the press, and delivered it to Dr. William King of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. Almost immediately Lord Oxford and Erasmus Lewis wrote to Swift urging him to forbear putting the manuscript to press until he had time to consider any 'objections' raised by friends.² Between eight and nine months later Lewis sent Swift a detailed criticism of the treatise, embodying the opinions of 'Lord Oxford, and two or three more', and conjured him not to allow 'this work to go to the press, without making some, or all the amendments proposed'.³ Swift refrained from alterations, accepted his disappointment, and the work was not published till thirteen years after his death. But in 1751 Lewis came once more upon the scene when Orrery wrote to ask his 'real opinion' whether or not 'Doctor Swift's manuscript' should be surrendered to George Faulkner, the Dublin printer, to whom the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital proposed selling the literary property.⁴

To sum up. Johnson recalled a conversation to which he had listened prior to the publication of the *History*. There was no Mr. Lewis, save Erasmus, who could have discussed the work with knowledge. He had a manuscript in his hands as early as 1713. In conjunction with others he went carefully through a fair copy in 1737-8. The conversation to which Johnson alludes may, not improbably, have taken place in 1751, when Orrery, in doubt what to do with the manuscript he held, consulted Lewis. Birkbeck Hill's footnote calls for correction. HAROLD WILLIAMS.

¹ *Letters of Swift to Ford*, ed. D. Nichol Smith, p. 12.

² *Correspondence of Swift*, ed. F. E. Ball, Vol. VI, pp. 35, 41.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 77-80.

⁴ *Orrery Papers*, Vol. II, pp. 87-9.

THOMAS PERCY AND BALLAD 'CORRECTNESS'

William Shenstone's advice to his friend Thomas Percy to regard the Folio manuscript as 'an hoard of gold, somewhat defac'd by Time', from which supplies might be drawn to 'enrich y^e world hereafter under more current Impressions'¹ has been often used to summarize the editorial methods employed for the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. Two years later, on 1 October 1760, Shenstone wrote: 'I believe I shall *never* make any objection to such *Improvements* as you bestow upon them, unless you were plainly to *contradict* Antiquity, which I am pretty sure will never be the Case'. The writer goes on to compare alterations or interpolations made in italics to the effect of 'a modern *Toe* or *Finger*, which is *allowably* added to the best old Statues'.²

To complete was therefore one of the main objects in Percy's emendations of and additions to the ballads which he introduced into his *Reliques*. The 'tale half told' which held such charm for later 'Romantics' possessed little to recommend it to those who judged by the artistic standards of the eighteenth century. Thomas Gray's perception was not shared by many of his contemporaries³, and where Percy deemed it necessary, he supplied a careful background and the full complement of 'Acts'.

Closely connected with this aim of completing the ballad and producing a finished 'whole' was that of 'correctness', and the references of Percy and his friends in their correspondence certainly suggest that they had some standard in mind. Percy revered Alexander Pope as an 'authority' and it is likely that if he paid heed to his opinion in one literary matter⁴ he would do so in another. According to Joseph Spence, Pope distinguished between the kinds of language and style which were suitable to the various types of poetry such as elegy, epic, pastoral. 'After writing a poem, one should correct it all over', he is reported to have said, 'with one single view at a time. Thus for language; if an elegy; "these lines are very good, but are not they of too heroical a strain?" and so *vice versa*'.⁵

The stock phraseology of the traditional ballad is now familiar to many

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 28221, f. 7^r. Shenstone to Percy, 4 January 1758.

² *Ibid.*, f. 50^r.

³ Writing of *Gil Morrice* to Mason, 11 June 1757, Gray remarked, 'it begins in the fifth Act of the Play; you may read it two-thirds through without guessing, what it is about; & yet when you come to the end, it is impossible not to understand the whole story'.

Correspondence of Thomas Gray, ed. Toynbee & Whibley (Oxford 1935), Vol. II, p. 505.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 22329 f. 8. Draft of a letter to James Stonhouse, 1762: 'How dare you call Pope a bungler for coupling *draught* and *brought*? You are a bold man and cannot but know that he had the most correct & delicate ear in the world. In short in whatever regards versification & rime, his authority is most absolute and decisive. Dryden is sometimes careless in this respect but Pope never'.

⁵ Joseph Spence: *Anecdotes, Observations, and Characters, of Books and Men collected from the Conversation of Mr. Pope, and other eminent persons of his time*. ed. S. W. Singer (London and Edinburgh, 1820), pp. 23-4.

readers. The contrast between the ballad diction and that typical of eighteenth-century poetry is obvious, but at least the treatment of stock phraseology was understood at that period. The really profound difference between Percy's 'improved' ballads and the genuine article lay in mood and atmosphere. In many of his additions he would out-ballad the ballad itself in the use of stock 'antique' expressions and the object always seems to have been to attain to some standard or ideal which he had in mind.

Shenstone notes, 'As I presume Mr. Percy will call his, "a Collection of old Ballads", Those Songs or Ballads y^t have antiquity on their side, and that best answer y^e *Idea* of a *Ballad*, should, caeteris paribus, be prefer'd'.¹ In Percy's notes in his Folio manuscript, in the correspondence with Shenstone and with Sir David Dalrymple, the expressions 'correct' and 'correction' are found with reference to the ballads.² Shenstone, for instance, writes: 'The Old Ballads I pretended to adjust cannot possibly appear with my consent, had I ever so much Leisure to transcribe them. They are corrected indeed, but that in a manner so very contrary to my present Sentiments, y^t I cannot endure to transcribe them as they are'.³ To Dalrymple Percy expresses regret that Shenstone had been unable to touch up the ballad of St. George since it would have been 'less unworthy' of Sir David's 'approbation had it contained any corrections from him, but he never saw it till it was printed off'.⁴ Other references to the ballads in this vein are found in this correspondence. On 2 December 1762, Percy wrote, 'Perhaps an enumeration of their titles may remind you of their contents & be a means of procuring me more correct copies',⁵ and about a year later; 'Inclosed is a new edition of the *Child of Elle*, with a few aukard, imperfect efforts to tag it with a conclusion. The inclosed is my only copy, be pleased therefore, when corrected by your elegant pen to return it';⁶ and again on 28 February 1764, Percy, referring to the *Reliques*, and probably therefore to ballad alterations, wrote: 'Your corrections came too late'.⁷

From this evidence, from the general trend of Percy's dealings with his material in the *Reliques* and from his respect for Pope's authority in another literary matter, it may be inferred that he probably held views similar to those of Pope on the question of literary 'kinds' and poetic diction, nor would this contradict a wish expressed by Percy to Thomas Warton, of which the only record is Warton's reply, 'You are certainly

¹ Quoted from 'Shenstone Bilets', Percy MSS. Folder 273, in the Harvard College Library, in *The Letters of William Shenstone*, ed. Marjorie Williams (Oxford, 1939), p. 663.

² Hales and Furnivall, *Folio MS.*, Vol. I, p. 165. With reference to *Sir Aldingar*, Percy notes, 'Without some corrections, this will not do for my *Reliques*'.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 28221, f. 34, Shenstone to Percy, 15 February 1760.

⁴ B.M. Add. MS. 32331, Percy to Dalrymple, 17 April 1763.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 10^r.

⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 41, Percy to Dalrymple, 3 November 1763.

⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 51.

right in thinking that the Public ought to have their Attention called to Poetry in new forms ; to Poetry endued with new Manners & new Images'.¹

Gerould has pointed out that 'By Shakespeare's day "ballad" was a term of reproach among the literate'², and in the latter half of the eighteenth century it still had associations with political sedition, the red-nosed rhymster and the gutter. A considerable part of Percy's effort therefore had to be directed to restoring the fallen prestige of the ballad and in fitting the rustic, the disreputable outlaw to enter society. The editor was indeed nervous lest this association should harm his own reputation.³ His aim was, perforce, in the words of Sir Walter Scott, 'to win the favour of the public, at a period when the great difficulty was not how to secure the very words of the old ballads, but how to arrest attention upon the subject at all'.⁴

The ballad in Percy's collection had to conform to an eighteenth-century ideal. It was allowed to retain some of its ancient vigour. In two instances⁵ this was remarkably well preserved, but many of the ballads suffered considerable change. They were adorned with sentiment, softened with Arcadian charm or rendered 'impressive' by Gothic gloom, to suit contemporary taste. Such productions can be recognized by every reader as utterly different in character from the ballad of tradition, the 'tale telling itself'. Presumably Percy's original composition, *The Hermit of Warkworth, A Northumberland Ballad in Three Fits or Cantos*, published six years after the *Reliques* first appeared,⁶ embodied his idea of what a ballad should be. We may, or may not like it, but when Percy's 'tamperings' and 'mutilations' are indignantly exposed, it is at least fair to recall his aim, and the standard which he seems to have set himself, in an age when such values were of first importance.

EILEEN MACKENZIE.

A PHRASE OF WORDSWORTH'S

In the familiar *Lines composed a few miles above Tintern Abbey* Wordsworth tells of the sensations he has owed to remembered images of that beautiful place:

sensations sweet
Felt in the blood and felt along the heart
And passing even into my purer mind
With tranquil restoration.

¹ Leah Dennis: *The Text of the Percy-Warton Letters*, Reprinted from P.M.L.A., Vol. XLVI, No. 4, December, 1931, p. 1176.

² G. H. Gerould: *The Ballad of Tradition*, p. 237.

³ B.M. Add. MS. 28221, f. 101-101^r, Shenstone to Percy, 20 November 1762: 'As to y^e being known to y^e world in y^e light merely of a Ballad-monger, you may be told, once for all, y^e I never mention you as such, without throwing in other matters to prevent this passing for y^e chef d'oeuvre'.

⁴ Sir Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, ed. T. F. Henderson, Vol. I, p. 38.

⁵ *Edward Edward*, no. 5 of Book 1 of Vol. I of the *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (London, 1765), and *Sir Patrick Spence*, no. 7 of the same book.

⁶ The composition of this poem was spread over several years.

'Along the heart' is a curious phrase. It recalls another phrase, about 'that giddy bliss' which he remembered feeling as a schoolboy in his outdoor sports,

that giddy bliss
Which like a tempest works *along the blood*
And is forgotten.

Prelude I. 584.

(He is perhaps thinking of the way in which a short-lived storm works along the surface of Windermere.)

And again it recalls the words that record an earlier memory: the Derwent, when he was a babe in arms,

sent a voice
Which flowed *along my dreams*.
Prelude I. 274.

From his intercourse with Nature something comes into him—sensation, emotion, sound—flows through him, along his heart, along his blood, along his dreams. He had a great love of rivers and he often uses the imagery of flowing water to convey his sense of the inner life of nature, with which his own inner life merges.

From Nature and her overflowing Soul
I had received so much that all my thoughts
Were steeped in feeling.

Prelude II. 397.

Whate'er
I saw, or heard, or felt, was but a stream
That flowed into a kindred stream.

Prelude VI. 742.

The force, rush and noise of moving water appealed to him in one mood, and in another the calm flow that suggested a kind of living stillness. It was thus that what he called the 'plain of ocean' moved him, the sea in an hour of calm. The Female Vagrant, waking from her trance on the British ship, draws a strange comfort from the tranquil sea.

A heavenly silence did the waves invest;
I looked and looked *along the silent air*,
Until it seemed to bring a joy to my despair.

The Female Vagrant, 1798, lines 142-4.

'A heavenly silence': words meant to Wordsworth, as Coleridge said, the whole of their possible meaning. The word 'heavenly' here means what it says. The silence is a silence that belongs to an etherial sphere, is peculiar to its own element, one that Wordsworth could himself enter in a mood of spiritual exaltation and therefore trusts the woman to know. A passage

which further illuminates his meaning is found in an unpublished MS. of *Excursion* III. The Solitary describes the spiritual life of the Wanderer:

A soul
So widely parted from me, that hath moved
Above the unequal ground of hope and fear,
Along its own peculiar element
With the unimpeded motion of a cloud
Upon the bosom of the etherial deep.

In all these places the word 'along' is associated with movement on an even plane, and in all but the second with movement that is silent. Sensations with Wordsworth pass into his purer mind. The sensations of this silent movement and the image that carries it bring to his mind an inward tranquillity that belongs, he would have said, to the spiritual world. For him 'the powers of sense and soul' were 'mysteriously allied'. In his poetry even such a workaday word as 'along' takes on some of the power of that mysterious alliance.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

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REVIEWS

English Literary Criticism: the Mediæval Phase. By J. W. H. ATKINS.
Cambridge, at the University Press. 1943. Pp. x+211. 12s. 6d. net.

Professor Atkins' survey of English literary criticism in the Middle Ages supplies a long-felt want. There has been a growing conviction that Elizabethan literature, while owing much to foreign model and precept of its own time, is more firmly rooted in mediæval interests than has been fully acknowledged, and this work supplies much of the necessary background. Literary criticism in its fullest sense includes evidence of contemporary taste, of the sense of the form and purpose of literature, and of the attitude to the literature of the past. All these are to be found both in the Latin and in the vernacular in the Middle Ages, not in convenient treatise form, but in running judgments and in works dealing with theology, rhetoric, and education. It was no easy task to collect and correlate these, to compare theory and practice, and to build up the complete picture from so many fragments, but Professor Atkins has accomplished this most successfully.

He has traced his theme chronologically from the Imperial ages, assessing the mediæval inheritance, to the early sixteenth century in England. By this means we are shown the changing tempo, the beginning made by Bede and Alcuin in the 'golden age' of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, the slackening of interest before the twelfth-century humanist, John of Salisbury, revived literary discussion, the check caused by increased interest in logic and scholasticism until, in the fourteenth century, when vernacular literature was gaining literary recognition, the tide begins to flow strongly towards Tudor criticism. The historical survey emphasizes the close inter-relation of literary criticism with the intellectual and social conditions and the many interests not primarily literary which make indirect but valuable contribution. It also displays the wide range of mediæval criticism, which includes so great a variety of scholars, men of letters, and poets, as Bede and Caxton, John of Salisbury, and Skelton, the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale*, and Hawes, Roger Bacon, and Chaucer.

It is easy to see from the survey the topics which were to prove fruitful in later criticism. Of these, the most interesting are the relations of criticism and other studies, its connection with the changing ideas of education, and the progress of a conception of the forms of poetry. The first is far-reaching. Grammar, logic, and rhetoric directed attention to the spoken and written word in the work of Bede, the 'poetics' of John of Garland, and Geoffrey of Vinsauf, in Roger Bacon's plea for textual criticism to provide accurate knowledge, and in the revival of rhetorical interests in the early sixteenth century. Translation is included, from the remarks of Alfred in the Preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* to the controversy in which Wiclif was involved concerning the translation of the Bible. The second topic covers the methods of study and use of the literature of the past, and contributes much to the third, of which there is comparatively little in the Middle Ages. This lack is accounted for by the necessity for dealing with language, technique, and the problems of the vernacular. All three provide the links with the classical past and lead on to the Elizabethan period.

Although he is dealing with much unfamiliar material, Professor Atkins has not overburdened the work with footnotes. There is a workmanlike index, and the short appendix provides a most useful collection of rhetorical terms from the *Poetria Nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf. It is to be hoped that there will be a further continuation of the plan which began with *Literary Criticism in Antiquity* to the next stages of English criticism, to which the author looks forward in the concluding chapter of the present volume.

ELIZABETH J. SWEETING.

Forty-Six Lives, Translated from Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*. By HENRY PARKER, LORD MORLEY. Edited by HERBERT G. WRIGHT. (E.E.T.S. Original Series, No. 214.) London: Oxford University Press for the E.E.T.S. 1943. Pp. cvi+200. 31s. 6d. net.

This edition of Morley's translation is most carefully prepared from the manuscript at Chatsworth, and gives also the Latin text of Egidius van der Heerstraten's Louvain edition (1487) (on which the translation was based) together with variants from the Ulm (1473), Strasburg (1474-5) and Berne (1539) editions of Boccaccio's work. It thus provides excellent material for the comparative study of the printed texts as well as Morley's rugged but not unattractive version, which has not been previously printed. There is a useful glossary.

The most interesting part of the volume, however, is the long Introduction in which the editor adds much to our knowledge of Parker as courtier, personality and writer, and corrects some errors made by previous inquirers. Parker, always a man of 'the old religion', lived from 1476 to 1556, and managed to retain the favour of patrons as diverse as Henry VIII and Mary, Wolsey, Cromwell and Somerset. He was in Germany in 1523 and wrote interesting letters to the King and Wolsey on the Lutheran menace; yet he profited by the Dissolution of the Monasteries. Though he sat in Parliament and attended Court, he lived in the main quietly on his estates. His literary work took the form chiefly of translations which he presented to his royal and other patrons. He was well read in the Bible, the Fathers, the ancient historians and philosophers, the English Chroniclers, and in French and Italian authors; but had little to say of the literature of his own country. His interests were almost purely moral and religious, but he loved the 'maternall eloquens' of Dante, the 'swete ryme' of Petrarch (whose *Trionfi* he translated) and the elegance of Boccaccio both in Latin and Italian. Long before Stocker and North he Englished some *Lives* of Plutarch (for Henry VIII and Cromwell), while for the 'Ladye Mary', both before and after she became Queen, he translated many improving pieces, from Seneca, Cicero, St. Thomas Aquinas, Politian, Erasmus, etc. Apart from his translation from Boccaccio the most valuable part of his work is his Prefaces and Dedications, of which Professor Wright gives us seventeen in the present volume. They show a conservative and pious mind affected by the new humanism and making translations partly to edify his superiors and partly to rival a fashion widespread on the Continent—'consyderynge that as well in French, as in the Italian (in the whyche both tongues I have some lytle knowledge) there is no excellent worke in the latyn but that straight wayes they set it forth in the vulgar, most commonly to their kynges and noble prynces of their region and countreys'. Morley was always modest about his own 'rude' style, but he exemplifies the groping after a good prose manner in the 'maternall tongue' which went on in early Tudor times.

G. BULLOUGH.

The Tragical History of Christopher Marlowe. By JOHN BAKELESS. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press, 1942; London: H. Milford, 1943. Two volumes. Vol. I, pp. xvi+375; vol. II, pp. viii+432. \$7.50. 42s. net.

Prophecy is usually inadvisable, but it would indeed seem that anything further written on the facts or bibliography of Marlowe's life will be but an appendix to Dr. Bakeless's present work. It is not yet forty years since, in 1904, Ingram appeared to have said all that could be deduced (and sometimes more than could be warrantably deduced) from the slender facts that were all we then seemed likely to discover. To watch the gradual disclosure of data, especially since 1925, has been one of the rewards of living in a period of expanding antiquarian research. The names of Bakeless, Boas, Brooke, Danchin, de Kalb, Eccles, Hotson, Seaton, Tannenbaum and others are now associated with the skilful tracing, elucidating, weighing and relating of fragments of evidence, large or small, which have at last produced a volume of fact greater than we possess for any but a few of Marlowe's fellow-dramatists. The first fruits of this rapid increase of knowledge were gathered up by Boas in 1921 (*Marlowe and his Circle*), by Bakeless himself, with additions, in 1937 (*Christopher Marlowe*), and further by Boas in 1940 (*Christopher Marlowe*).

The present volumes contain the results of all this preceding work, together with further recent additions for which there have been laid under contribution the resources of the British Museum Manuscript Department, the Public Record Office, the archives of Canterbury and other local English records, the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Libraries of Cambridge University and of Corpus Christi College.

The order in which this is presented is straightforward. The first volume contains chapters on Marlowe's family, education, London life and death, covering in meticulous detail the biographical material and supported by a bibliography that itself fills over 100 pages.¹ The remaining chapters of both volumes cover the individual plays and poems, describe Marlowe's opinions, his prosody, his relations with Shakespeare, and the Marlowe Apocrypha. The chapters on the works follow a clear system, covering in sections 'Authorship', 'Date', 'Stage History', 'Sources', 'Influence', 'Text', or as many of these as are relevant. Necessarily, in such a work as this, these are not discussed in such detail as in the works of the specialists in those respective fields. In many of these the author has naturally little to add to the work of former scholars, though sometimes, as, for instance, with the sources of *Tamburlaine*, he differs from, makes an addition to, or readjusts, the balance of their conclusions. The chapters on Marlowe and Shakespeare and on the Apocrypha give full summaries, in forms easy for reference, of the work done on these problems and the views held, down to the present day. For all these chapters the bibliography supplies full and valuable references.

The remaining two chapters contain more of the author's own critical opinions and it is naturally here that there is room for some difference of view or of estimate. In the biographical and bibliographical sections, indeed, little but respectful acceptance is possible.

There is perhaps a certain timidity in the writer's treatment of Marlowe's thought and character. Most modern Elizabethan scholars are very little dis-

¹ This should be studied carefully alongside the relevant chapters, as much valuable information—in the case of certain documents, a description or brief history—is to be found there rather than in the body of the volume or in its footnotes.

turbed by the charges of homosexuality and 'atheism' brought against Marlowe, and are of opinion that it would be no great matter if he were found guilty of both. Nothing is to be gained at this date by trying to beg him off either, the first of which could have been preferred against many of his contemporaries, especially the theatre-men, and the second against the majority of Elizabethan thinkers who obeyed the injunction to 'worship the Lord thy God . . . with all thy *mind*'. As for the Baines libel, the case was put neatly many years ago by that able French scholar F. C. Danchin: "Que ce soit le dernier mot de Marlowe, le fond de sa pensée, nous n'oserions le prétendre; mais c'en est sûrement l'écume". To those of us who have long honoured the processes of Marlowe's mind, both the relation and the distinction are clear.

The chapter on Marlowe's prosody is a careful and detailed analysis of the main characteristics of Marlowe's blank verse (though one at least of the more elusive technical secrets appears to be missed). But the generalizations are not on the whole fruitful and the study seems substantially unrelated to the work of Marlowe's contemporaries, among whom Kyd (in whose hands the flexibility and the strictly dramatic functions of blank verse made a long step forward) comes off with undue discredit.

A work on such a scale as this is liable to slide occasionally from one level of scholarship to another, being written now for the plain man and now for the scholar of the inner circle only, and it would be merely ungracious to cavil. For the factual and biographical part of Dr. Bakeless's book, we have in general nothing to express but that gratitude which all lifelong students of Marlowe's work must feel on meeting this massive assembling of fact and reference, this synthesis of nearly half a century's accumulation of discovery.

UNA ELLIS-FERMOR.

Milton's Royalism: A Study of the Conflict of Symbol and Idea in the Poems. By MALCOLM MACKENZIE ROSS. (Cornell Studies, XXXIV.) Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. 1943. Pp. xiv+150. 15s. 6d. net.

The theme of this book is stated in the sub-title. The argument is that during the Elizabethan period the traditional poetic imagery of kings and courts expressed a national community of belief; but during the seventeenth century 'the connotation of royalism changed . . . Yet Milton, writing as a bitter anti-royalist, drew heavily on the royalist literary tradition. A contradiction between the symbol and idea was inevitable. There is evidence that Milton became aware of this contradiction in *Paradise Lost*, and sought in the last poems to purify his idiom'. Although 'royalist' is obviously being used ambiguously there is a theme here for the study from a particular angle of the contradictions and misdirections which all recognize in *Paradise Lost*. But Mr. Ross's argument expands into a discussion of the growing divergence in the seventeenth century between the traditional sources of Milton's poetry and the changing political, sociological, religious and other cultural ideas of the time. This larger theme calls for a wide and intimate acquaintance with the period which Mr. Ross does not appear to possess; he relies on modern 'authorities', some of them of a speculative character. In the upshot his book becomes another 'sociological' study of Milton from a modernistic American viewpoint; and the main impression one carries away is that he is unable to forgive the poet Milton for not being a good democrat. This modernistic attitude comes out plain in the concluding

chapter, where he uses Milton's case to comment on the similar predicament of present-day poets 'in a period of revolutionary crisis . . . The sociological problem is once more engaging our attention . . . Milton had to make use of symbols which belonged to the past, the radical poet of the twentieth century makes use of symbols which belong to the future, or rather which depend for full understanding by a wide audience on the democratic advance of the working class'.

On his proper subject Mr. Ross makes some interesting points, but the course of his argument is marred not only by crudities but by some misinterpretations of Milton's text so palpable as only to be explained on the assumption that even here Mr. Ross was relying on books about his author. In the early poems (so runs the argument) Milton as a 'late Elizabethan' uses in good faith the already antiquated 'royalist' symbolism of Spenser and Shakespeare. His original intention of writing a national epic on the Arthurian legend illustrates this Elizabethan outlook; his later rejection of this subject however was due to the fact that the British myth, used by the Elizabethans to glorify England under the Tudor monarchy, was now associated with the Stuarts and the Royalist faction. After the Civil War and Milton's political disillusionment a national epic was impossible, yet one way and another the poet was compelled to use in *Paradise Lost* the traditional 'royalist' imagery. Mr. Ross then proceeds to illustrate the confusions that arise from Milton's ambiguous use of this imagery in *Paradise Lost*. In the prologue to Book 9 Milton scoffs at the deeds and pageantry of the chivalric epic as unworthy of heroic poetry; yet not only is his own Heaven an 'Arthurian Heaven' but the grandeur of the fallen angels, the 'glory obscured' which they still retain, is described in chivalric terms. He identifies the luxury of courts and palaces with the ignoble Belial, yet adorns his Heaven with all the despised magnificence of an earthly kingdom. Heaven's pavements are of 'trodden gold'; yet this same gold, which Mammon too much admired in Heaven, is discovered in Hell and becomes the 'precious bane' of Earth. The palaces raised in Hell and later imitated on Earth are designed by the same architect who had previously exercised his skill in Heaven. 'It is difficult', comments Mr. Ross, 'to damn the vanity of earth by making it the mirror of heaven'. But this corruption of good to evil is one main theme of the poem, and I doubt whether any willing reader has difficulty in following its imaginative expression. When Mr. Ross attempts to show that the same sort of confusion occurs in the scenes in Eden, he trips badly. In Book 5 'Milton is at some pains to contrast the "tedious splendour" of a Royal Progress with the simple unostentatious perfection of the Angel Gabriel:

In himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On Princes . . .'

In Book 8 Eve on the contrary, says Mr. Ross, is described as regal and majestic:

With goddess-like demeanour forth she went,
Not unattended; for on her as Queen
A pomp of winning Graces waited still.

'It is thus she appears before Raphael—the same Raphael *who scorns to wear the "tedious pomp of Princes"*. Are we to assume that the slight to regal appearance given in the description of Raphael is meant to have contemporary reference, but that the queenliness of Eve is to be associated with the royalism of Heaven? If so, we are required to perform imaginative gymnastics.' One can only retort

that we are required first to read the poem, whether or not we are capable of reading it imaginatively. The passage from Book 5, which Mr. Ross ascribes to two different angels, belongs of course to neither but to Adam. And the passage from Book 8 is not a contrary but parallel description of the natural dignity of Eve as equally able to dispense with factitious pomp. B. A. WRIGHT.

Robert Burns: his Associates and Contemporaries. The Train, Grierson, Young, and Hope manuscripts, edited with an introduction by ROBERT T. FITZHUGH; with the Journal of the Border Tour, edited by J. DE LANCEY FERGUSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: H. Milford. 1943. Pp. x+133. \$3.00; 18s. 6d. net.

Professor Fitzhugh's introduction to this composite volume is entitled 'Robert Burns: His Tradition and His Work'. It would be unreasonable to expect much that is new in an essay of fourteen pages. His Burns is Henley's Burns, who, 'if not so satisfying to romantic piety, is better than Burns interpreted by reverent Victorian biographers . . . He is a strict moralist who would wish away the songs and poems celebrating Burns' heroines, and the heroines wished it least of all'. Professor Fitzhugh goes so far as to list the poet's 'responsibility as a husband' among his many virtues. But his analysis of certain paradoxical aspects of the poet's life and work is well put: 'His cry for liberty was sharpened by his impatience with restraint; his democracy was more than tinged with resentment of his superiors, and often of the ill will he himself had stirred up unprovoked. His readiness, his wit, his humor were often embittered by too much of the same sense of the world's injustice and hypocrisy and absurdity that give zest to his poems . . . His fame as a poet is mainly due to his wisdom in avoiding a false gentility in his life and in his art, and in writing of the life he knew, in its own fast-fading dialect of which he was master, and in the spirit of a well-established vernacular tradition'.

Professor Fitzhugh has 'uncovered' in His Majesty's Register House, Edinburgh, the notes made by James Grierson of Dalgone in Dumfriesshire on which Joseph Train, the friend of Sir Walter Scott, based those he sent to Scott's son-in-law, Lockhart, then engaged on his biography of Burns. These give an authority to Train's manuscript, now in the University of Edinburgh, which in the opinion of some writers on Burns it has hitherto lacked. Thus Professor Snyder, in his excellent life of the poet—though written with an exaggerated scepticism induced by his predecessors' credulity—brushed Train's evidence aside as being derived from an 'unidentified Mr Grierson'. The latter is now revealed as an enthusiastic collector of facts relating to Burns, obtained at first hand, in many instances, from Burns's friends and connections, especially John Richmond, his crony, in 1786, 1787, and 1788. Among various additions to our knowledge thus derived, there is 'the most direct link with Highland Mary on record', the significance of which the editor had already set forth in an article in *P.M.L.A.*, vol. LII. Grierson met her sister and records the result of his interview on 24 October 1817. She was the daughter of 'Archibald Campbell mariner who resided at Dunoon parish'. The well-known Bible, now preserved in Burns's Cottage, was in the keeping of Highland Mary's nephew then in Paisley, whence it was brought so that Grierson was able to copy the inscriptions it contained. An incident at an inn, recorded by Train, but not in the existing Grierson notes on which Train drew, indicates that a brother of Lord Eglinton was receiving from Mary the same favours she was bestowing on Burns. 'Truth',

remarks Train, 'deprives her history of much of its charm'. It is only fair to add that the late Rev. Dr. King Hewison dismissed this anecdote, accepted by Professor Fitzhugh, as 'incredible Mauchline gossip'. Train's credibility, however, has been strengthened in recent years. The story of the capture of the *Rosamond*, told by Lockhart on the authority of Train, was at one time relegated by Professor Snyder to the fanciful realms of Gilbert and Sullivan. But the publication of the original documents, now in the National Library of Scotland, completely vindicated Train.

The author of the third manuscript was Alexander Young of Harburn, W.S. As Young himself tells us, he was the schoolfellow at Dumfries of Riddell of Glenriddell and of Dr. Currie. When the latter was beginning his biography of the poet, he stayed with him a few days and discussed the work both then and in later correspondence. But the memoir was mainly prompted by his reading the third volume of Allan Cunningham's *Life and Works of Burns*. His notes on Burns's election ballads and on such contemporaries as William Nicol, Riddell, and Heron are valuable. Young submitted his manuscript to his friend Lord Granton, the Scottish judge, whose comments supplement Young's and throw 'further light on upper-class opinion of Burns'.

The last item of this interesting volume is Burns's Border Tour of May 1787, now published in full for the first time, although Cunningham printed most of it in his *Life*. Professor DeLancey Ferguson had already published in *P.M.L.A.*, vol. XLIX, the greater part of Cunningham's omissions. One can only share the editor's regret that he has been unable, in present circumstances, to annotate it.

HENRY W. MEIKLE.

Horace Walpole: Gardenist. An Edition of Walpole's 'The History of the Modern Taste in Gardening' with an Estimate of Walpole's Contribution to Landscape Architecture. By ISABEL WAKELIN URBAN CHASE. Princeton: Princeton University Press; London: H. Milford. 1943. Pp. xxx+285. \$3.50; 23s. 6d. net.

The study of English landscape gardening in the eighteenth century is a tantalizing business. There is abundance of contemporary description, theory, commentary, and history, revealing the correspondence of gardening and painting, contributing to our knowledge of eighteenth-century aesthetics and to our understanding of the romantic revival. We know perfectly well what the 'gardenists' were out to do, but when we turn to see what they did we are frustrated. Plans and prints survive but not the originals, for the medium in which the 'gardenists' worked is more liable to suffer change and decay than the media of other artists. The ravages of the forces of nature and of changing taste have been vast and all too often complete. Pope's garden was altered by subsequent owners within fifty years of his death, and delightful as the Leasowes still is in irredeemable decay, the imagination is unduly taxed to reconstruct Shenstone's work even with the assistance of Dodsley's plan. Where the design still survives, changes in the shapes of trees and in the disposition and types of flowers profoundly modify the effect. The herbaceous border at Hampton Court, certainly one of the glories of that garden, belongs in style rather to the nineteenth than to the seventeenth century, and the mist of anchusa which flanked the canal and so astonished and gratified the eye some years before the war belonged perhaps to the twentieth. Such effects as these arrest the mind and divert it from contemplating what remains of the original design. And therefore if we allow that land-

scape gardening is 'the only Taste we can call our own, the only proof of our original talent in matter of pleasure', as Gray protested, it is mainly on written evidence that we rely and not on the evidence of sight.

Such is the reason for the sense of frustration and dissatisfaction that accompanies a modern study of the art. Mrs. Chase is evidently aware of this, and has done her best to assist the imagination in reconstructing at least one of the contemporary scenes by a competent description of the garden at Strawberry Hill illustrated by reproductions of water-colour drawings. Her book deals mainly, however, with the aesthetics of gardening and may be described as an elaborate commentary on Walpole's *History of the Modern Taste in Gardening*, which she rightly regards as one of the most important documents in gardening aesthetics.

The *History* was first published in 1780 as part of the *Anecdotes of Painting*. But Mrs. Chase has followed the second edition of 1782, since that is 'the only complete and accurate one published with the author's supervision'. The choice lay between that and the even completer edition of 1798, published by Miss Berry after Walpole's death. The additions are slight and may be attributed to Walpole without hesitation, but the edition has been rejected by Mrs. Chase because Miss Berry's printer altered the punctuation. The effect is that in this reprint Walpole's additions are relegated to the notes. Let us have first things first. An author's words are more important than his commas and must on no account be sacrificed to them. If subsequent additions are punctuated discordantly, the editor who is producing not a facsimile but a reading text should repunctuate the additions in the dominant manner, using the apparatus criticus to show what he has done. Another blemish in Mrs. Chase's text is her distracting use of index figures to refer to the apparatus. No reader is grateful for having his attention withdrawn from an author's argument to be shown obvious misprints in a text the editor has rightly rejected.

These are blemishes of excessive scrupulosity, unnecessary and irritating certainly, but not affecting the main value of Mrs. Chase's work, her patient exposition of Walpole's ideas on gardening and their relationship to the aesthetics of painting. Chiefly interesting is her indication of the development of the new theory of gardening from the recognition that a scene resembles the style of a Salvator Rosa or a Claude Lorraine to the attempt to use the raw materials of nature to compose a garden in the manner of Salvator or Claude. Such a theory is in obvious accordance with neo-classical imitation, for Claude and Nature were the same and to copy nature was to copy Claude. But though neo-classical imitation could certainly change the face of English gardens by ridding them of Dutch formalities, it could only substitute one mannerism for another. The truly liberating stroke was an extension of this principle of imitation. By judicious selection and improvement of the materials that lay at hand, a gardener could emphasize the essential character of a scene. Pope, before Walpole, had prescribed that in all a gardener did he must 'consult the Genius of the Place', but it was left for Walpole to show how this could best be done and to draw attention to Kent's capital discovery of the sunk fence or ha-ha. The removal of the boundary wall made it necessary to include 'the contiguous out-lying parts' in a kind of general design, and the surrounding country was thus allowed to dictate what the character of the garden should be. The beauties of a particular scene rather than the beauties of an ideal nature became the gardener's inspiration. The importance of this aesthetic discovery needs no emphasis. The pity is that we can no longer see how it was originally applied.

JOHN BUTT.

The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth. Poems founded on the Affections. Poems on the Naming of Places. Poems of the Fancy. Poems of the Imagination. Ed. from the MSS. with textual and critical notes by E. de Selincourt. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1944. Pp. xii+537. 25s. net.

Nothing appears in this volume to indicate that its editor has died since he dated his preface exactly a year before the day of publication, but we assume that it must have been seen through the press by Miss Darbishire who, we understand, has undertaken to complete the task left unfinished by Professor de Selincourt. Be this as it may, the volume is a worthy finale to his life-work and one for which the reader must be profoundly grateful. As is so often the case with an entirely satisfactory edition of a great writer, little scope is given to the reviewer. The editorial work, exacting and scrupulously carried out, is not of a nature to demand much comment or anything but praise. The text of the poems has been collated with the manuscripts, many of them not previously available, and the variations are recorded in the *apparatus criticus* at the foot of each page. It is thus for the first time possible to trace in detail the history of the composition of each poem, often with most interesting results. The development of Wordsworth's poetic mind is shown by his manipulations of the first drafts and much can be deduced from the changes, omissions, and additions made. *Peter Bell* is an instance in point, and as de Selincourt shows (p. 529), Wordsworth 'spent endless pains in its improvement', progressively toning down the 'daringly commonplace' diction, 'though to the end much remained which represents Wordsworth's most defiant challenge to literary convention'. The fewness of the alterations in *Tintern Abbey* is, in its own way, equally revealing. 'No poem of mine was composed under circumstances more pleasant for me to remember than this', the poet told Miss Fenwick, and 'the impassioned music of the versification' is now shown to have been the outcome of unlaboured inspiration.

The editor's own annotations are confined to accounts of the several manuscripts and to occasional explanations and illustrations. But self-effacing as is his method, the result of his untiring work is all-pervasive. This second volume of *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth* is worthy both of the poet and of the scholar who devoted so many years to their adequate presentation.

EDITH J. MORLEY.

Wordsworth's Formative Years. By GEORGE WILBUR MEYER. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press; 1943. Pp. viii+265. \$3.50.

This is a bold book. Setting out from his own point of departure, a prosaic one, Mr. Meyer reverses the judgments of such acute and profound critics of Wordsworth as M. Legouis, Professor Garrod and Professor de Selincourt. He believes that Wordsworth's account of his own growth in *The Prelude* is misleading and fundamentally untrustworthy, and that to understand what was really happening to him in the formative years we ought to consult his letters and other writings of the period. Thus he dismisses Wordsworth's account in *The Prelude* of the period of distress and conflict which accompanied his surrender to Godwinism by insisting that the letters written by William and Dorothy at Racedown between September 1795 and June 1797 reveal that Wordsworth was 'cheerful, industrious and spiritually undisturbed'. Let us at once ask so honest and pains-taking a seeker after truth as Mr. Meyer whether a shy and sensitive man in a

state of spiritual struggle is bound to depict his inward state in a familiar letter to a friend. This was not Wordsworth's way: his nature was deeply reserved; he did not wear his heart upon his sleeve. But in *The Prelude* he endeavoured, with a single-minded effort after truth, to trace the development of his own mind. In the retrospect chronology may have become confused (Wordsworth was always untrustworthy about dates), incidents merged together, but the essential spiritual phases must, we believe, be rightly recorded in *The Prelude*, as truthfully anyhow as they ever can be.

Mr. Meyer has a light-hearted confidence in his understanding of Wordsworth's character: he 'wheedled his guardians'. Did Wordsworth ever 'wheedle' anyone? He 'refused' in his early years 'to admit the validity of reality'. Few men had a closer, stronger sense of reality than Wordsworth: as a youth he was romantic, dreamy, perverse, adventurous, but did he ever refuse to admit that validity? Did he ever make 'an effort to impress the reading public', as Mr. Meyer says he did in *An Evening Walk* and *Descriptive Sketches* by 'embellishing his poems with gems of imagery and wisdom'? Such misapprehension of the central qualities of Wordsworth's mind prepare us for misjudgment of his poetic work. *The Borderers* is to Mr. Meyer 'the all but unintelligible verse-tragedy . . . a work almost devoid of artistic merit' (p. 153). Now Coleridge undoubtedly over-rated *The Borderers*, but later generations of readers have as surely under-rated it. *The Borderers* is not a great poetic tragedy, but it contains some strangely moving dramatic poetry. The best known passage, which he used later as a motto for *The White Doe*:

Action is transitory—a step, a blow,
The motion of a muscle, this way or that . . .
Suffering is permanent, obscure and dark,
And shares the nature of infinity . . .

belongs to the most impressive scene of the play. Marmaduke has left the aged Herbert to die: the scene opens thus:

Scene, the Wood on the edge of the Moor. Marmaduke (Alone)

Marm. Deep, deep and vast, vast beyond human thought,
Yet calm. I could believe that there was here
The only quiet heart on earth. In terror,
Remembered terror, there is peace and rest.

The external scene and atmosphere of the desolate moorland answer to and expresses the internal desolation of Marmaduke's mind in a manner truly Wordsworthian.

Mr. Meyer's chapter on *The Borderers* is, however, in its provocative re-statement of the Godwinian ideas there embodied, a real contribution to the study of Wordsworth's development. Mr. Meyer will have it that *The Borderers*, 'far from being a pessimistic play', when viewed in the light of his interpretation 'ceases almost to be a tragedy'. His main point is that Oswald does not represent true Godwinism since Godwin insisted on the pre-eminent virtue of benevolence, and Oswald despises the benevolent feelings: that Marmaduke on the contrary represents the Godwinian principle of benevolence which has its triumph in his remorse and repentance at the end of the play. This view needed exposing, and though Mr. Meyer reaches the fallacious conclusion that there is nothing of monstrosity or pessimistic gloom in *The Borderers*, yet this re-statement of the Godwinian content of the play does something to redress a balance which has hitherto been imperfectly adjusted.

Again, Mr. Meyer draws attention rightly to important passages added by Wordsworth to *An Evening Walk* at Windy Brow in 1794. These passages first brought to light by Professor de Selincourt have not yet passed into the currency of literary criticism, and though Mr. Meyer somewhat exaggerates their implications, he rightly stresses their importance to an understanding of the earlier phase of Wordsworth's philosophy of Nature. Further, he emphasizes the importance of Coleridge's letter of April 1798 to his brother George, as a clear and revealing statement of the ideas shared by Wordsworth and Coleridge at that date, especially in regard to the beneficent effect of a love of Nature upon the human passions.

No careful student of Wordsworth will accept Mr. Meyer's main contentions without many reservations; few will be content to swallow without protest the phraseology of his literary criticism: 'authorial exegesis', 'confusion in ideal implications', the poet's 'use of Nature'. To the present writer his whole argument is vitiated by his deliberate rejection of *The Prelude* as the document of first importance to an understanding of Wordsworth's mind and its development. He states that 'Beatty's discovery of Wordsworth's knowledge of Hartley is perhaps the most important single contribution ever made to the understanding of Wordsworth's poetry'. Posterity will surely corroborate what I am confident would be the view of Professor Beatty himself that Professor de Selincourt's great edition of *The Prelude* from the early manuscripts is indubitably the most important single contribution.

Nevertheless, Mr. Meyer's enthusiastic labours have brought to light, or placed in a stronger light, some things that are worth our notice, and have thus perhaps made a shade less obscure the important formative years of Wordsworth's life, 1793-1797.

HELEN DARBISHIRE.

A Study of Wordsworth. By J. C. SMITH. Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd Ltd. 1944. Pp. 103. 5s. net.

This unpretending little book begins abruptly, without any explanation of its origin or intention, and proceeds, with a minimum of annotation or reference, to deal succinctly with the familiar Wordsworthian themes. In discussing Wordsworth's poetry the author puts forward no interpretation which is not already established, though in the chapter on the poet's religion he makes some peremptory statements on issues which cannot, I think, be decided without far more careful and detailed examination. The book reads like an introductory course of lectures on Wordsworth, and it is certainly likely to prove of much value to students as a short guide to a great subject.

The best chapters are those on 'Organic Sensibility', 'Memory', 'Pleasure, Fear and Love', and 'Dream, Hallucination, Reverie, Vision'. Here the essentials of Wordsworth's poetic equipment and the distinctive qualities of his poetic experience are set forth freshly and with genuine understanding. Mr. Smith admirably expounds the significance of Wordsworth's 'spots of time' or moments of vision, and he understands the parts played by fear, and by other kinds of emotional heightening, in preparing for the visionary flash. Particularly interesting here is his reference (p. 24) to Dorothy Wordsworth's account of Wordsworth's terror at the strange rushing of the winds while he was walking one evening in John's Grove. Mr. Smith is right in emphasizing the dream, the reverie and even the hallucination as characteristic elements in Wordsworth's experience, and right, too, I think, in saying that Wordsworth's 'mysticism' was

'natural' rather than 'religious'. On the whole topic of 'visions supervening on moods of surcharged emotion' (p. 45) Mr. Smith says just what should be said, and says it with refreshing force and directness.

These very virtues, however, become a source of danger when they lead Mr. Smith to dispose summarily of an intricate problem like that of the poet's alleged debt to Hartley (cf. Ch. VII, pp. 89 ff.). It is quite true, as he says, that there is no 'external' evidence that Wordsworth ever studied Hartley, and it is well to be reminded of this. But the 'internal' evidence of an *affinity* between them ('affinity' is a better word than 'debt'; Wordsworth was far too original to be 'indebted' to anyone) amounts to much more than the remark about 'association' in the Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*. Mr. Smith misses the point when he says (p. 90) that Hartley's distinctive doctrine was not 'the association of ideas' but the theory of vibrations in the brain, and that Wordsworth 'knows nothing of vibrations'. Hartley himself had the good sense to present his 'vibrations' as merely a probable fiction, a good working hypothesis, and he believed that his doctrine would stand firm without it. His really important contribution was his theory of the natural development of our moral and religious being from Sensation, through Imagination to Reflection, by means of the association principle. And this was just the theory best fitted to give coherence to Wordsworth's thoughts when he began to review his own past. Coleridge was at the height of his Hartleian phase when the two poets first met (1796), and Wordsworth cannot fail to have heard, and heard with eager interest, Coleridge's exposition of a philosophy so true to his own experience: a philosophy at once sensationalist, necessitarian and religious (religious but not Christian). The parallels ('wise passiveness', the idea of Nature's education, the view that we become 'wise perforce' by drinking in the soul of things—there is no space here to mention the many others) are too striking to be accidental, and Mr. Smith, one feels, might at least have referred the reader to Beatty's book, in which they are elaborately discussed. It is puzzling, too, to find Mr. Smith at this point apparently misapplying a remark of Coleridge's in *Table Talk* (21 July 1832), which, he thinks, led to the 'discovery of this mare's nest'. Coleridge did *not* say, as Mr. Smith (p. 91) leads us to suppose, that Wordsworth "'treats man as man, a subject of eye, ear, touch and taste, in contact with external nature", not "informing the senses from the mind" but "compounding a mind out of the senses"'. What he *did* say (cf. Oxford ed. of *Table Talk*, p. 188) was that Wordsworth, in his plan for his philosophical poem, intended to 'treat man as man' etc., 'informing the senses from the mind, and not compounding a mind out of the senses'. Mr. Smith has simply reversed Coleridge's meaning, and this is especially unfortunate because Coleridge is here associating Wordsworth with his own emancipation from the Locke-Hartley tradition. It was the sin of Locke and Hartley, and of the early Wordsworth and Coleridge, to 'compound a mind out of the senses', but Wordsworth's true poetic mission, as Coleridge saw it, was to proclaim in verse the great discovery they had jointly made of the dignity and autonomy of the mind. The important point surely is that Wordsworth and Coleridge, though they transcended or outgrew Hartley and the eighteenth century, and though they gloried in having done so, nevertheless had their roots there: and this is all that need be claimed by believers in the 'debt' to Hartley.

Two errata may be noted: on p. 4, for '*The Return of the Native*' read '*Far from the Madding Crowd*', and on p. 84, for 'Simon' read 'Simeon'.

BASIL WILLEY.

Coleridge's 'Hymn Before Sunrise'. A Study of Facts and Problems Connected with the Poem. By ADRIEN BONJOUR. Lausanne: Imprimerie La Concorde. 1942. Pp. 236. (No price given.)

Coleridge's *Hymn Before Sun-rise, in the Vale of Chamouni* presents an interesting problem for the literary investigator, and M. Bonjour has spared no pains in his efforts to track down his quarry. Whether quite so substantial a volume (including a parallel-text edition of the two main versions of the poem, with full variants from all known manuscripts and printed editions) was really necessary is a little doubtful. M. Bonjour, like so many young scholars, does not always remember that brevity is the soul of wit; many of his footnotes should either have been embodied (in a shorter form) in his text or left in the decent obscurity of his note-books. But he has shown himself both clear-headed and sympathetic as a student of Coleridge, and has made a useful though a minor contribution to English scholarship.

The *Hymn* was composed in 1802, a few months after Coleridge (in *Dejection: An Ode*, the last of his really great poems) had lamented the suspension of his 'shaping spirit of Imagination'. It has long been known that the *Hymn* is an adaptation and expansion of an obscure German poem (by Friederike Brun) of no striking merit. Whatever may be thought of the *Hymn* in comparison with Coleridge's better-known poems, there can be no doubt of its great superiority to the German original. It is therefore all the more mysterious that Coleridge, though openly admitting that he had never been to Switzerland and that the inspiring experience was an ascent of Scafell, should have left his indebtedness to the German poem entirely unacknowledged both in public and in private. There is no real parallel to this strange behaviour to be found elsewhere in the poet's career, so that attempts have even been made to explain it away as a case of 'unconscious reminiscence', that is, of involuntary plagiarism. M. Bonjour makes short work of these theories by simply drawing attention to the hitherto unnoticed fact that the two explanatory notes which accompanied the *Hymn* on its first appearance in print were themselves little more than translations from the notes to the German poem. His own explanation, which I believe to be the true one, depends on a close and careful examination of Coleridge's state of mind in the summer of 1802, when, as Sir Edmund Chambers has put it, 'the very writing of *Dejection* may have helped to release the mood which it represents', and when in consequence his hopes of a recovery of poetic power had momentarily revived. The *Hymn*, his next considerable poem, naturally enough acquired a peculiar significance for the poet; it seemed to justify his hopes, and yet the fact that it was an adaptation and not an entirely original work showed all too clearly the uncertainty of those hopes. This conflict of hopes and fears is quite sufficient, when we remember that it was at this period that opium was gaining its full power over him, to account for the deliberate concealment (otherwise almost pointless) of a debt which at any earlier time would undoubtedly have been admitted.

It must be mentioned that M. Bonjour has not been very successful in the efforts alluded to in his preface, to 'reduce the quantum of proof-errors to a minimum'; even his list of Errata contains a misprint, and there must be several dozen in the whole volume. Most are quite trivial and obvious, but it is to be feared that a few have crept into the 'Parallel Text Edition of F9 and F12', where their effect may be more serious. Thus on p. 198 the variant to line 18,

deep for sweet, has slipped out, as shown by its being mentioned on p. 176; and on p. 204 the variant to line 57 should apparently be *beauteous*; at any rate this is implied by note 2 on p. 173.

R. W. KING.

The Place-names of Middlesex, Apart from the City of London. By J. E. B. GOVER, ALLEN MAWER and F. M. STENTON with the collaboration of S. J. MADGE. (English Place-name Society, Volume XVIII.) Cambridge, at the University Press. 1942. Pp. xxxiv+237. 18s. net.

Both authors and publishers are to be congratulated on the production of a volume such as this under the stress of war-time conditions. Paper and binding are not of the same high quality as in previous volumes—a deterioration which was inevitable, but might well have been much worse—but there is no falling off in the high standard of printing, arrangement, and accuracy we have learned to expect from the Cambridge University Press. As to the contents, the war has had one effect. The volume was originally intended to include the Place-names of the City of London, but the work on this section was less advanced and the gradual closing of archives has compelled the postponement of its completion until the manuscripts are once again available. Apart from this, the difficulties of war-time production have been successfully overcome and the book maintains the high standard of scholarship and accuracy we now invariably demand from the English Place-name Society.

This will long remain the standard work on Middlesex place-names. The authors form a particularly strong team. No comment is needed on the qualifications of the late Sir Allen Mawer and Professor Stenton to treat such a subject. Mr. Gover produced a small volume on the same subject as long ago as 1922, and a comparison of the two reveals the progress made in the interval, whilst Dr. Madge, an authority on Middlesex history, had himself long been collecting material for a study of the place-names of the county. Together, they correct numerous popular misconceptions and throw much new light on many difficult problems, but many are still left unsolved. Particularly full and interesting is the treatment of the street-names of the City of Westminster and the Metropolitan Boroughs, and it is to these sections that many readers will first turn. Such names as Piccadilly, Pimlico, and Soho have been the subject of much speculation. Here we have an authoritative collection of the known facts and a summary of the present state of our knowledge. Walbrook is explained as the 'brook of the serfs or Britons' and, as a name, is dissociated from the City wall. The *Golder* who gave name to Golders Green has proved illusive. The present form of the name dates only from the seventeenth century and the evidence suggests that the name should really be *Gooders* or *Goodyers* Green. Walham Green was earlier *Wendenegrene*; the green grew up around the manor of *Wendon*. There is no marked *dene* or *don* in the parish and the name probably derives from a family from Wendens in Essex which was established here in the thirteenth century.

Many of the names now familiar as those of stations on the railway or the underground or on bus-routes are found to go back to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries and to derive from the surnames of early owners or occupiers, names of a type which in other counties have given rise to names of isolated farms or single houses. Arnos Grove, for example, was *Arnoldes Grove* in 1551, and here lived Margery Arnold in 1344. Bowes Park similarly takes name from the family of John *de Arcubus* (1274), whilst Ponders End was the *end* or quarter of the

parish of Enfield where in 1373 lived John *Ponder*, 'the dweller by the pond', an earlier member of whose family was probably *Luc' de la ponde* (c. 1200). Particularly noticeable is the frequent use of *bury*, 'manor-house', compounded with the name of an early lord of the manor in such names as Bloomsbury, earlier *Blemondesberi*, the manor of (William) *Blemund* (1202), Brondesbury, that of *Brand*, a late twelfth-century canon of St. Paul's, Finsbury, that of *Fin*, and Gunnersbury, that of a woman named *Gunnhild*. It is noteworthy, too, that all three personal names, *Brand*, *Fin*, and *Gunnhild* are of Anglo-Scandinavian origin.

The problem of the difficult name Chelsea is still unsolved. This name, with Chalkhill House in Kingsbury and various field-names, all appear to contain the element *chalk* but no trace of chalk or limestone is to be found in the neighbourhood. Cambridge Heath has no connection with Cambridge, Hurlingham is an unsolved problem, Harringay and Hornsey are etymologically identical, Kneller Hall, now associated with music, is named from the painter, whilst Maida Vale is really the name of a street and not of a district and probably commemorates the battle of Maida in Italy in 1806. The book is full of curious facts and information of interest not only to Londoners in general but also to all who visit or take an interest in the metropolis.

Two particularly interesting discoveries are the identification of the *Claigh-hangra* of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with a lost *Clayhangre* in Tottenham, on or near the site of Clayhill Farm, and that of Barnet Gate with the *grendeles gatan* of a tenth-century charter through the intermediate forms of *Grinsgate* and *Greensgate*, thus recalling the story of Grendel, the man-eating monster of human form who lived in the fens and was killed by Beowulf.

The smallest of the ancient shires of England, Middlesex is a name of high antiquity. The territory of the Middle Saxons must have included an area larger than that of the modern county, which, in spite of its limited size, contains a remarkable number of really ancient names such as Yeading and Ealing, originally tribal names, Harrow, the site of a heathen tribal sanctuary, and others containing rare personal names and substantives, the whole agreeing well with the archaeological evidence, and pointing to a Saxon occupation of Middlesex by the beginning of the sixth century. The majority of the names call for little comment. The Celtic element, apart from river-names, is very slight. Scandinavian influence is limited to a few Anglo-Scandinavian personal names and gives no evidence of Scandinavian settlement. The French element is surprisingly small. Even the early centralization of the government in the cities of London and Westminster had little influence on the place-names except in the City itself. The treatment of field-names is full, as usual, and an appendix discusses the topography of Anglo-Saxon charters relating to Hendon, Hampstead, and Westminster.

P. H. REANEY.

The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary. By G. UDNY YULE. Cambridge, at the University Press. 1944. Pp. x+306. 25s. net.

Recently the science of Statistics has been applied in many different fields. Economists, sociologists, psychologists, and biologists have found it expedient and occasionally necessary to make use of statistical methods in their researches. Mr. Yule, who has done much of the pioneer work in developing statistics in this country, now suggests a new field of application: the study of vocabulary. In

reading the works of certain authors we occasionally have the impression that A's vocabulary is richer than B's. Is there any possibility of confirming the subjective impression objectively?

In this book certain of the quantitative aspects of vocabulary and style are discussed. Mr. Yule has confined himself to the study of nouns, and his fundamental notion is that of the 'noun-distribution'. He ascertains how many nouns occur once, twice, thrice etc. in a given passage. The frequency distribution that he obtains bears a striking resemblance to certain distributions which have been studied in the theory of industrial accidents, and a theoretical model is constructed which explains these similarities. Such distributions can be specified by one measure; the 'characteristic' K . If K measures peculiarities of style it is to be expected that passages from different authors should give different values of K . A small experiment, of which an account is given in the book, suggests that passages from the same pen give more homogeneous values of K than do passages from different authors. Much empirical work will, however, have to be done before this conclusion can be firmly established. It would probably be better to confine oneself, as Mr. Yule suggests later on, to the study of certain classes of nouns, e.g. those of Anglo-Saxon or of Romance origin.

There are many other topics which are touched on in this book. A reviewer, especially one who is not well versed in the study of linguistics, is, however, in a quandary. From the point of view of statistical technique Mr. Yule's name is a sufficient guarantee of excellence, and a tremendous amount of routine work has gone into the study. The preparation of some of the tables must have meant weeks, if not months, of dull and heavy labour, and in this sense the book is a monument to the author's industry. But is all this work valuable from a linguistic point of view? It seems to us that if the method is to be further developed, collaboration between the linguist and the statistician is essential, so that time should not be wasted on the pursuit of topics which ultimately turn out to be of little practical value. It is the linguistic expert who must decide which of the many quantitatively measurable aspects of vocabulary and style are of interest to him. Once he has made this decision the statistician can get to work. It is possible that the method will be of great value in studying variations of popular rather than literary vocabulary through time, as Mr. Yule suggests in his valedictory chapter. It is possible that the study of words other than nouns may prove of value. Mr. Yule himself has studied sentence length as a criterion of literary style elsewhere. There is little doubt that the statistical method may prove to be very helpful in all these connections.

Unfortunately the book is not an easy one to read for anyone who has no knowledge of statistical method. Admittedly, Mr. Yule provides a short introduction to the subject in his second chapter, but this is of necessity rather concise. The non-statistical reader may find it convenient to refer to some other introductory volume before attempting to study Mr. Yule's book. Mr. Tippett's recent little book¹ may be of service here. Those who will take the trouble to work through Mr. Yule's book will find it full of interesting suggestions and comments. In only one point will they strongly disagree with the author. There are no signs of the hardening of the brain which Mr. Yule has diagnosed in himself.

E. GREBENIK.

¹ L. H. C. Tippett, *Statistics*. Home University Library, 1943.

SHORT NOTICES

Petrarch and the Renaissance. By J. H. WHITFIELD. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1943. Pp. 170. 12s. 6d. net.

The subject of this study is the nature and scope of Petrarch's humanism and of its development in the work of Valla, L. B. Alberti and the fifteenth-century Italian educators. Attacking the commonly accepted notions of Rousseau, Gentile, Burckhardt, Monnier and others regarding the paganism and wickedness of the Renaissance, contrasted with the 'age of faith', Mr. Whitfield views such tendencies rather as relics of mediæval barbarism, incompatible with the civilizing influence of Petrarch's Ciceronian ethic. In his opinion the central position of Petrarch rests upon substance rather than form, grounded, as it was, not in philological pedantry but in 'Ciceronian Christianity'. The survival of mediæval traits in Petrarch, particularly in the *Secretum* and in *De Remediis*, is not such as to undermine the consistency of Petrarch's positive and constructive idealism, which his successors, still further emancipated from the throes of scholasticism, apply more specifically to education, politics and art. Mr. Whitfield's treatise shows both the merits and the defects of partisanship. His case is well worth arguing and is well supported, but it is a pity that he should have weakened it both by a prevailing note of petulance and of uncritical iconoclasm. A glaring instance of this is his abrupt dismissal of the twelfth-century 'renaissance' as little more than an invention of Haskins. Granting the civilizing influence of humanism, it does not follow that everything mediæval was barbarous, nor should it be necessary, in order to appreciate Petrarch, to depreciate Dante.

B. E. C. DAVIS.

This is Lorence, a Narrative of the Reverend Lawrence Sterne. By LODWICK HARTLEY. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press; London: H. Milford. 1943. Pp. xii+302. \$3.00; 18s. 6d. net.

Dr. Hartley has not endeavoured to throw fresh light on Sterne by adding to the scholarly accumulation of facts about him. His purpose has been to produce from the research of others, carefully used and honourably acknowledged, an introduction to his life and works that shall be acceptable to the lay reader by its light handling and to the student by its accuracy, and furnish 'the apparatus for making such a subtle and amusing book as *Tristram Shandy* less difficult for the general reader'. In addition he has sought to provoke interest and observe artistic decorum by suggesting in his own style something of his subject's flighty colour and capricious modulation.

Such a mark is difficult to hit. It is not clear that the scholar has anything to learn from the book. The young student may be helped on his way by a study that is written *con amore*, but will need to supplement it with a more technical approach. The book strikes us as slightly overwritten and keyed up throughout, even allowing for its intentional liveliness. Can we really pronounce so decisively upon the nature of Sterne's relations with his mother or the character and motives of his uncle? Dr. Hartley tries a little too hard to fill in the outlines. But the enthusiasm that makes this sort of error is not disagreeable.

J. M. S. TOMPKINS.

Tamerlane and Other Poems. By EDGAR ALLAN POE. Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1827 with an Introduction by Thomas Ollive Mabbott. Published for the Facsimile Text Society by Columbia University Press. London: Milford. 1941. Pp. lxvi (Introduction)+iv+5-40. 12s. net.

To the ordinary reader the original edition of *Tamerlane* is of merely curious interest, for it is badly printed and contains numerous errors. Its fabulous value to collectors is due to its rarity. Its history presents some points of resemblance to that of the first edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, with the enterprising printer, Calvin F. S. Thomas, playing the part of Joseph Cottle, though on a much humbler plane. The parallel is closest at the end of the story, for tradition has it that the unsold copies of *Tamerlane* were finally destroyed as waste paper, after they had failed to find purchasers at twenty-five cents each.

The greater part of the present volume is occupied by the Introduction. Dr. Mabbott,

who writes with extreme caution after years of enquiry, would probably agree that he knows less about the intricacies of Poe's career than the earlier biographers thought they knew, for the tendency of modern research has been to correct false assumptions and to dismiss unfounded rumours rather than to accumulate new facts. It is fortunate that Dr. Mabbott's work appeared in time to be consulted by Professor Quinn before the publication, in the same year, of his full biography, *Edgar Allan Poe*. In the absence of important new discoveries, of which there appears very little prospect, the latter is unlikely to be superseded.

P. L. CARVER.

Annals of the New York Stage, Vol. XIII (1885-8). By GEORGE C. D. ODELL. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1942. Pp. xviii+723. 18s. 6d. net.

Volume XIII of Professor Odell's massive undertaking carries his story only three years further, from 1885 to 1888. Professor Odell's main theme in this volume is the supremacy which Daly's theatre won over its rivals. But surely nothing has escaped his eye. We move from the metropolis itself to the outposts of Brooklyn, Williamsburgh, Queen's County and Staten Island. We range from Howells at the Madison Square Theatre or at the Chapel of All Souls Universalist Church, South Tenth Street, Williamsburgh, to the Chicago Anarchists in wax at the Eden Musée and to a series of lectures which, according to the advertisement, were to be heard by the Young Men's Hebrew Association in Temple Beth-el. What was happening to the drama at the time, or to popular taste, is more difficult to discover. The wood can't be seen for the trees—and the undergrowth is far too luxuriant and unchecked. But then this is not a history of the drama. Professor Odell is compiling annals. As such, this volume, like its predecessors, is an invaluable work of reference. And the gusto which Professor Odell has brought to his own theatre-going breaks in to enliven the dry work of the compiler. Posterity weaves no garlands for the actor, said Schiller, yet the names of the men and women who once drew crowds to see them act always exercise a strong charm: a charm which largely springs from the very evanescence of the achievement. Ada Rehan, Mary Anderson, and the others both better and less known—we can at least look at them in the astonishing collection of photographs which illustrate this book.

D. J. GORDON.

Frank Norris, A Study. By ERNEST MARCHAND. California: Stanford University Press; London: H. Milford. 1943. Pp. x+258. \$3.00; 20s. net.

Frank Norris is chiefly remembered here—when at all—for *The Octopus* and *The Pit*, parts one and two of his unfinished trilogy on the subject of Wheat. Yet Norris had gifts and should not be left entirely to his compatriots. Mr. Marchand's competent and unpretentious study should be a useful guide. His chapters are on 'The Ends and Purposes of the Novel'; 'Romance: Realism: Naturalism'; 'The Cult of the Strong Man'; 'Social Ideas of a Novelist'; 'Style', and 'Contemporary Estimates and After-Fame'. They cover the ground adequately, discussing Norris's work in relation to his ideas and to the contemporary background. For even when the novels are not artistically interesting they are useful as an index of contemporary notions. We have here not only Naturalism after Zola, but also the novel as a work that tells the Truth to the People, Primitivism and the cult of the Cave Man, the sinister influence of Big Business, and the White Man's Duty and the superior virtues of the Anglo-Saxons, after Kipling. Everything in fact, except consistency. No one can credit Norris with that. Mr. Marchand's views on literature and the 'Gilded Age', as expressed in his first paragraph, are perhaps too simple, and in spite of his epigraph he is too kind to Norris as thinker, and much too kind about Norris's mawkishness and the complete rubbish he was capable of writing. Norris's gifts were for observing and recording with richness and precision the ways of life in the California of his day. For this he is still to be read. And these gifts are perhaps best seen in his first novel, *McTeague*.

D. J. GORDON.

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